DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 227 974 RC 013 916

AUTHOR	Danky, James P., Ed.; And Others
TITLE	Native American Press in Wisconsin and the Nation. Proceedings of the Conference on the Native American Press in Wisconsin and the Nation (Madison, Wisconsin, April 22-23, 1982).
INSTITUTION	Wisconsin Univ., Madison. Library School.
SPONS AGENCY	Wisconsin State Dept. of Public Instruction, Madison. Div. of Library Services.; Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison.; Wisconsin Univ., Madison. School of Journalism and Mass Communication.
REPORT NO	ISBN-0-936442-09-5
PUB DATE	82
NOTE	172p.; Also sponsored by University of Wisconsin-Madison School of Journalism and Mass Communication.
AVAILABLE FROM	State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 816 State Street, Madison, WI. 53706 ($7.36, postage included).
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Conference Proceedings (021) -- Viewpoints (120)
EDRS PRICE	MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	Alaska Natives; *American Indian History; *American Indians; *Freedom of Speech; *Journalism; *Newspapers; *Press Opinion; Tribes
IDENTIFIERS	Boudinot (Elias); Wisconsin

ABSTRACT

Conference proceedings on the Native American Press in Wisconsin and the Nation present speeches and presentations pertaining to current American Indian publications and examples of analysis and synthesis created by Indian scholars. Topics of speeches presented include: an interpretive framework for Native American discourse; the early years of Indian publications (1828 to the Civil War); a survey of Native American journalism from the Civil War to the present; women in Native American journalism; a report on efforts made by the Council of Energy Resource Tribes in journalism; a biography of Boudinot, a Cherokee editor; how news concerning Native Americans is reported in Alaska; a research report on the Native American press bibliographies; and a case study on contemporary Native American discourse. Representatives from various tribal newspapers describe their publications' activities. Newspapers represented are the Circle, Wind River Journal, Menominee Tribal News, Lac Courte Oreilles Journal, and Zoar's Weekly Information. Appendices pertaining to Freedom of the Press on Indian reservations and listings of conference speakers and conferees conclude the proceedings. (ERB)

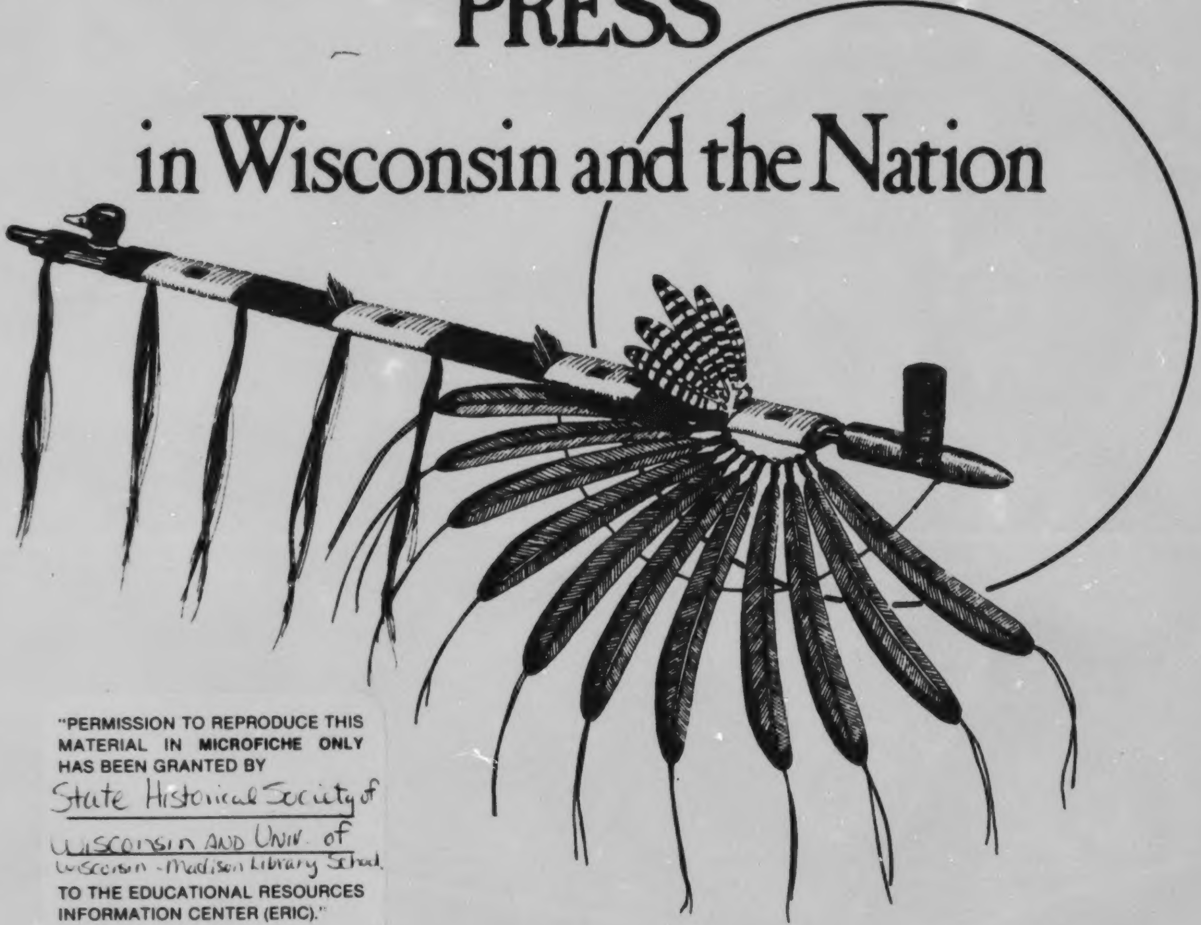
****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED227974

DEC 1982
RECEIVED
ERIC/CRESS

NATIVE AMERICAN PRESS

in Wisconsin and the Nation



"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL IN MICROFICHE ONLY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
State Historical Society of
Wisconsin AND Univ. of
Wisconsin - Madison Library School
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

RC 013916

LIBRARY SCHOOL
University of Wisconsin

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

- Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

NATIVE AMERICAN PRESS IN WISCONSIN AND THE NATION

Proceedings of the Conference on the Native American Press in Wisconsin and the Nation, April 22-23, 1982

Sponsored by
State Historical Society of Wisconsin
University of Wisconsin-Madison Library School
University of Wisconsin-Madison School of Journalism and Mass Communication

Edited by

James P. Danky
Maureen E. Hady
Richard Joseph Morris

University of Wisconsin Library School
Madison, Wisconsin
Summer, 1982

Made possible by a grant from The Division for Library Services, Department of Public Instruction under the Library Services and Construction Act

Copyright 1982 by
University of Wisconsin-Madison Library School
All Rights Reserved

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Conference on the Native American Press in Wisconsin and the Nation
(1982 : Madison, Wis.)
Native American press in Wisconsin and the nation.

Includes bibliographical references and index.
1. Indian newspaper--United States--Congresses. 2. Indian Periodicals--United States--Congresses. 3. Indian newspapers--Wisconsin--Congresses. 4. Indian periodicals--Wisconsin--congresses. I. Danky, James Philip, 1947- . II. Hady, Maureen E., 1952- . III. Morris, Richard J., 1953- IV. State Hisorical Society of Wisconsin. V. University of Wisconsin--Madison. Library School. VI. University of Wisconsin--Madison. School of Journalism and Mass Communication. VII. Title.
PN4883.C66 1982 071'.3'08997 82-17634

ISBN 0-936442-09-5

Alternative Cataloging in Publication Data

Conference on the Native American Press In Wisconsin and the Nation,
April 22-23, 1982, Madison, Wisconsin.
Native American press in Wisconsin and the nation; proceedings. Edited by James P. Danky, Maureen E. Hady, and Richard Morris. Madison, University of Wisconsin Library School, 1982.

"Sponsored by State Historical Society of Wisconsin, University of Wisconsin-Madison Library School, University of Wisconsin-Madison School of Journalism and Mass Communication."

1. Native American press. 2. Native American periodicals--History and criticism. 3. Native American newspapers--History and criticism. I. Danky, James P., 1947- editor. II. Hady, Maureen E., 1952- editor. III. Morris, Richard J., 1953- editor. IV. University of Wisconsin-Madison. Library School. V. University of Wisconsin-Madison. School of Journalism and Mass Communication. VI. Wisconsin State Historical Society. VII. Title.
070.597

Dedicated to Elias Boudinot and Zoar Fulwilder

TABLE OF CONTENTS

April 22, 1982

Page

Preface — 7
Jane Robbins-Carter

Introduction — 9
James P. Danky

An Interpretive Framework for Native American Discourse — 15
Richard Joseph Morris

The Circle — 39
Antony Stately

The Early Years: Indian Publications, 1828 to the Civil War — 51
Sharon Murphy

A Survey of Native American Journalism from the Civil War to the Present — 57
James Murphy

Women in Native American Journalism — 65
Sharon Murphy

Wind River Journal — 73
Joan Willow

Menominee Tribal News — 79
Laurie Fish

The Business of Indian Country News — 89
Paul Demain

The previous numbered page in the original document was blank.

April 23, 1982

Page

Introdution — 99
James P. Danky

CERT Report — 103
Richard V. La Course

Elias Boudinot, Cherokee Editor: The Father of American Indian Journalism — 121
Barbara Luebke

Zoar's Weekly Information — 135
Zoar Fulwilder

The Alaskan Native Story: Who is Telling What to Whom? — 141
James Murphy

Native American Press Bibliographies - Report of Recent Research — 153
James Parins
Daniel F. Littlefield, Jr.

Contemporary Native American Discourse: A Case Study — 167
Richard Joseph Morris

Appendices — 183

Conference Speakers — 195

Registered Conferees — 197

PREFACE

Jane Robbins-Carter

Most of you may know James Danky who is sitting right here. Jim designed the Conference and got money from the Library Services and Construction Act to underwrite some of the cost for it. Jim is Newspapers and Periodicals Librarian here in the State Historical Society and has been with the Society in various positions since 1973. He is a graduate of our Library School over across the way. One of the exhibits is there at the Cooperative Children's Book Center, an exhibit of alternative childrens' materials, and we hope you'll come up to the fourth floor of Helen White Hall sometime while you're here to see it. Jim's work has been in a variety of areas for which the Native American Press Conference here is a natural continuation. He's done work with women's periodicals, Asian-American periodicals and newspapers, Hispanic-American periodicals, periodical publishing in Wisconsin, underground newspapers and Cuban Refugee Camp newspapers. So he really does know the field of specialized publishing in the way of periodicals and newspapers. Once again I am very pleased to welcome you here to Wisconsin and to introduce you to Jim Danky. Jim.

INTRODUCTION: April 22, 1982

James P. Danky

Thank you Jane. Both of us would like to recognize some of our sponsors for the conference just by reading them off. We're sponsored today by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, of course, and by the University of Wisconsin-Madison Library School, but we're also sponsored by the School of Journalism and Mass Communications over in Vilas Hall, two buildings over down on University. As Jane noted, I'm here in two capacities today; my regular position here is that of Newspapers and Periodicals Librarian. It's a role that makes me responsible for the selection, acquisition and reference for the entire collection of newspapers and periodicals. This role includes Native American newspapers and periodicals as just one element in a collection that includes about 6,000 currently received titles and tens of thousands of ceased ones. As important as I naturally believe newspapers and periodicals to be, and of course I have a bias in that, I'm just part of the acquisition section, which in turn is part of a library, and part of the Society. We have about a million and a half total items in our Library collection. Some of the other areas of strength in case you're not familiar with the Society are Labor Union materials, Local History and genealogy and so forth.

This is not a new idea for the State Historical Society, that is, concentrating on Native American materials. In Volume I of the Wisconsin Historical Collections, published in 1855, there was a section entitled "Objects of Collections Desired by the Society," which is probably written by the first corresponding secretary, Lyman Draper. In the first paragraph of that statement, he asked that the Society receive "facts illustrative of our Indian tribes, their history, characteristics and sketches of their prominent chiefs, orators and warriors, together with contributions of Indian implements, dress, ornaments and curiosities." Always interested in newspapers, Draper made special mention in his report for 1866 of the acquisition of the file of the Cherokee Phoenix, which some of you, I'm sure, are familiar with. He termed that title remarkable for several reasons, but particularly because it was published in the Cherokee alphabet as used by Sequoyah. In 1876, we added files of other titles, the Cherokee Advocate and Cherokee Messenger. And the early vision of trying to document the Native American Press comprehensively, not only in Wisconsin, but throughout the country, remains today.

In our bibliographic work during the project that Jane described, we've identified over six hundred and fifty titles and of those, about two hundred are currently published. We receive the majority of those in this Library, and we're still working very hard at it, trying to keep up with the tradition. And while each of you is here, and I've mentioned that to a couple of you, if there is some particular title that you wanted to see, or a particular issue you have had trouble getting, and we have it, please ask us and see if we can't locate it for you. We also handle all the Native American materials except those that are bound, but the majority of them are

The previous numbered page in the original document was blank.

microfilmed by us, so if there are some materials that are too voluminous to try and look at here, just ask us about them because we can send them to you on Interlibrary Loan with great ease.

In addition to collecting materials about Native Americans, Draper and the other earlier staff members at the Society were interested in creating a dialogue between scholars and the Society, and between the Native American community and this Society. We've put on a variety of public programs over the last 150 years including exhibits of photographs and art work by Native Americans, and public events such as an Indian day celebration that lasted three days in 1904. In 1954, we had a conference on "The Indian in Modern America," that brought together people concerned with a variety of things, not particularly historical, about the Native American community of the state.

As the state's oldest continuous publisher, the Society has disseminated information about Native Americans through a wide variety of publications for over one hundred years. Perhaps the most famous amongst contemporary publications is the pamphlet, "Wisconsin Indians" by Nancy Oestreich Lurie of the Milwaukee Public Museum. It's certainly one of our best sellers. Other recent efforts have included packets of illustration on "The Life of the Woodland Indians." Because the size and growth of the Society's Library dictated against special collections of materials put into particular rooms, you have to approach the Society as an integrated research library. The size of the collections here, as I've said, is over a million and one half items. As an indication of our Native American materials, the index to the Collections of the State Historical Society, which is twenty volumes, has 8 pages of index entries alone under Indians.

Today I hope the Society is making another step in the maturation process, that is, by trying to move from the antiquarian interest that has been a part of our work and to develop a sense of continuity with the past by documenting contemporary Native American life. The conference will, as it seems, create additional documentation through the speakers who will provide primary evidence about current publications. The presentations should offer examples of the kind of analysis and synthesis being created today by scholars, and also increase the public's perception of the Society's interest in this area. Each of you will judge how successful we are, and as always we welcome your comments. Before I start I'd like to announce some changes in the schedule, even though I typed it yesterday afternoon. To my total chagrin, we've left off one of our speakers who's here. It got dropped at the bottom of the page, and I can only apologize for that. Anthony Stately, editor of the Circle from Minneapolis will be speaking in tomorrow morning's session. He'll offer a presentation about the editing and production of an urban and Native American newspaper. Jeannette Giles of Wawwauta News of Sioux Point, Ontario was unable to make her travel arrangements in order to come down here, and the staff of WOJB radio was held up in Washington for some more meetings. The call here from Hayward said that they didn't think that they'd be able to arrange their travel from Washington in order to make it here for tomorrow afternoon, but maybe.

My other duty, and it's a pleasurable one is to introduce a member of the staff. She just ducked out so she can't stand up, but Maureen Hady is the Project Librarian and she has on the blue blazer this morning and I made her put on her name tag so she would be recognizable. If you have any questions during the course of the meeting, about what we're doing, or just about other mechanics, please ask either of us. Are there any questions about the packet of information you were given at registration, I'd be happy to take those now.

RICHARD JOSEPH MORRIS, INTRODUCTION:

James P. Danky

I would like to introduce our first speaker. Richard Morris is a doctoral candidate and teaching assistant in the Communications Arts Department at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Richard and I first met when he requested assistance in locating some titles in our Library. As a large Library and an old one we frequently know that we have things in the collection until we try and locate them. Over the last several years we have discussed problems of access to Native American publications and areas in which the collection could be strengthened. The collections benefitted from Richard's advice and the outcome of these discussions, at least one outcome, was the grant application to the Department of Public Instruction, Division for Library Services, which is supporting all of these activities. Richard's work is in rhetoric which is an area more frequently associated, I think in my own mind, with the ancient Greeks of the rennaisance than with contemporary usage. But he focused on both the classics of Europe and America, including Native American discourse. Richard.

The previous numbered page in the original document was blank.

AN INTERPRETIVE FRAMEWORK FOR NATIVE AMERICAN DISCOURSE

Richard Joseph Morris

Given the fact that the discipline I represent traces its origins back to ancient Greece, one might reasonably suppose that communication scholars have had ample opportunity to develop a large body of knowledge concerning Native American discourse. Yet, if the national and regional communication journals may be taken as reliable indicators, Native American discourse--especially, though certainly not exclusively, contemporary Native American discourse--remains little known, little understood, and little appreciated.[1] Moreover, what little knowledge, understanding, and appreciation we do possess generally has come down to us either from sources whose precepts are more significant in determining their statements than are their observations,[2] or from infrequent and isolated studies cautiously focused upon great "Indian" orators of centuries past.[3]

The primary problem has been and continues to be that, with few exceptions,[4] both scholars and popularists have been studying, characterizing and discussing the "Indian" and the "Indian problem" rather than Native Americans and the problems that Native Americans have experienced and continue to experience.[5] Consequently, we have learned much about white conceptions, preconceptions and misconceptions of Native Americans as "Indians," but little about Native Americans, their problems, their cultures, or their discourse.

In this presentation, I hope to make some progress--however little--toward developing our understanding of contemporary Native American discourse. Specifically, I am here maintaining that, from an historical perspective, there are at least three distinct strains of Native American "ethos" (by which I mean simply "the characteristic spirit, prevalent tone of sentiment, of a people"), that three major historical situations mark the emergence of these three *ethoi*, that each of these strains is in general both indicative of and productive of an identifiable set of discursive characteristics, that two of these strains are strikingly similar, and that recognition of the distinctions and similarities among these three *ethoi* provides us with a coherent interpretive framework for enhancing our knowledge, understanding, and appreciation of Native American discourse in general and of contemporary Native American discourse in particular. In my presentation tomorrow, I shall focus on some of the major implications of this methodological scaffolding for the interpretation of contemporary Native American discourse by examining discourse produced during the 1973 incident at Wounded Knee, South Dakota.

The 1890 Native American Ethos

The emergence of the first ethos I should like to discuss--the 1890 Native American ethos--is marked by the ascendance and decline of the Ghost

The previous numbered page in the original document was blank.

Dance movement. This connection between historical situation and emergent ethos assmues a prominent place in the present discussion for two reasons. First, as frequently happens when tribal societies participate in messianic or millenial movements and activities,[6] the Ghost Dance movement served not so much to alter the major features of the nineteenth century Native American ethos as it did to emphasize and amplify certain features already present.[7] This point is significant because it stresses that in dealing with the 1890 Native American ethos we are not dealing with an ethos that is substantively different from the ethos out of which it developed. Second, the emphasis on and amplification of these major features of the nineteenth century ethos has left, as it were, its clear imprint in discourse produced by those who were involved in the movement. Indeed, in spite of the diverse interpretations given to the original visions undergirding the Ghost Dance movement,[8] the extant discourse exhibits a surprisingly similar set of discursive characteristics--each of which may be seen as manifestations of the deeply religious character of the 1890 Native American ethos.

For example, because members believed that the power of their movement would increase in proportion to the number of individuals involved, there was a concerted effort on the part of the members to attract as many people to the movement as possible. The rapid spread of the movement is itself adequate to suggest that such "mobilization" efforts were both extensive and relatively successful.[9]

Of course, by itself an effort to mobilize support is insufficient to account for the rapid spread of the movement--particularly if there were nothing from which to be delivered. In this respect, the experience of "widespread deprivation"--which was common to virtually all of the tribes that participated in the movement, and which in turn fostered expression of that experience in the form of vehement protests--provided a substantive point of identification among tribes that otherwise might have remained quite disparate.[10]

Similarly, close adherence to "special ritual practices" not only increased the power of the Ghost Dance in the eyes of the members of the movement, but also provided them with a specified set of substantive points of identification by providing both a regemented schedule and--along with the Ghost Dance doctrine--a framework through which unspecified activities could be interpreted appropriately.[11]

Too, the original intent of the Ghost Dance doctrine, which was most notably promulgated through the "Messiah Letters," appears to have been quite peaceful--though some tribes were more actively peaceful than others. In essence, the doctrine instructed believers to understand that "Grandfather . . . says, when your friends die you must not cry. You must not fight. Do always right. It will give you satisfaction in life. . . .Do not tell lies."[12]

As this quotation implies, moreover, the Ghost Dance doctrine was intended as a statement of hope. In addition to the explicit connection between appropriate behavior and "satisfaction in life," the doctrine expresses hope in the form of assertions about seemingly concrete facts. Thus, for example, the Cheyenne version of the "Messiah Letters" confidently asserts that the messiah "will give you good spirit, and give you all good paint. . . . Juses [the messiah] is on the ground, he is just like [a] cloud. Every body is alive again. When it happens it may be this. There will be no sickness and return to young again."[13]

In spite of its expression of hope and peacefulness, however, the Ghost Dance doctrine has a decidedly militant texture. Thus, the doctrine instructs believers not to "tell the white people about" the return of the messiah, not to "refuse to work for [the] white man or do not make any trouble with them until you leave them" (emphasis added).[14] This last statement in particular was interpreted by some tribes (e.g., the Lakota) to mean that the white people would be destroyed.[15]

Belief in and adherence to the Ghost Dance doctrine also gave rise to the belief that true believers would be impervious to injury. This belief was further reinforced in those tribes that employed the "Ghost Shirt," which was confidently believed to "be impenetrable to bullets or weapons of any sort."[16] As a consequence of this confidence, believers thought they had reason to be--and in fact were--outspoken. This characteristic tendency thus helped to develop further the militant texture already apparent in the early stages of the movement.

The requirement that members of the movement immediately return to tribal life helped both to intensify the militant texture of the discourse and to provide yet another substantive point of identification among the various tribes by reifying the dichotomy between "good" and "evil." Those who adhered to this requirement thereby explicitly demonstrated their concern for and support of the movement and the traditional values upon which it was conceived. By contrast, those who failed to heed this requirement, who exhibited signs of having yielded to the acute pressures of acculturation, could readily be identified as having rejected one of the most significant signs of membership in the traditional community. In this sense, the return to tribal life functioned both as a cleansing activity through which "foreign" impurities could be purged and as a means of reinstantiating the superiority of tribal life over other modes of life. This dichotomy was significantly amplified, moreover, by the belief that "the ushering in of the 'golden age' by the messiah" would bring about a "restoration of earthly values."[17]

The final characteristic of the 1890 Native American ethos--which has been alluded to throughout this discussion, and which may be regarded as the overarching category into which all of the other characteristics eventually fall--is that of nearly singular religious commitment. This is not to say that the 1890 Native American ethos is altogether void of religious irregularities, but rather that in the world view of those who embraced this ethos, belief could rarely ever be separated from behavior. Consequently, for example, the familiar distinction between natural and positive (i.e., socially created) law fails to obtain in any significant sense. Because in this world view laws are to be regarded as "good" (since at some point in the regress they were given to people by the overseer of the natural order, who "sees and hears everything" and "never forgets"), and because words themselves are to be regarded as divinely endowed,[18] both law (i.e., belief) and the observance of law (i.e., behavior) are accorded the same ontological status.

To summarize this all-to-brief description of the 1890 Native American ethos, then, we may say that its central discursive characteristics are (1) an effort to mobilize support, (2) the experience and expression of widespread deprivation, (3) the incorporation of special ritual practices, (4) reliance upon an ostensibly peaceful doctrine, (5) the expression of hope for the near future, (6) a militant discursive texture, (7) a clear tendency to be outspoken, (8) an immediate return to tribal life, (9) reliance upon a messiah, (10) the anticipation of an imminent golden age, (11) the restoration of earthly values, and (12) an intense religiosity. Using these twelve characteristics as a basis of comparison and contrast, we are now in a position to examine the changes that occurred in Native American discourse subsequent to the decline of the Ghost Dance movement.

The Post-1900 Native American Ethos

Four major factors appear to be most responsible for the rapid decline of the Ghost Dance movement: (a) the movement was forcefully suppressed by the U. S. Army, (b) the federal government outlawed the Ghost Dance, (c) all of the tribes in the movement continued to experience widespread deprivation, and (d) the Ghost Dance ultimately failed to produce the predicted results.[19]

For my present purposes, however, it is more important to note that at approximately the same time that the Ghost Dance movement began to exhibit signs of abandonment a significant decline occurred in both the quantity and the religious quality of Native American discourse. These shifts in the 1890 Native American ethos and the discourse produced by those who embraced that ethos may be imputed to a variety of causes. Certainly one of the most substantive factors in the quantitative decline of Native American discourse is the fact that both scholars and popularists began to lose interest in the "Indian" and the "Indian problem."[20] Given this loss of interest, the fact that Native Americans had only very limited access to media and printing presses, the success of the reservation program in isolating Native Americans from one another and from white society, and the fact that by 1900 war, disease, and starvation had significantly reduced the Native American population, it is perhaps not surprising that today we find a significant decline in the quantity of Native American discourse.

Still, this does not explain fully the shift in the religious quality of Native American discourse. Certainly each of the four factors that contributed to the rapid decline of the Ghost Dance movement must be taken into account when assessing the causes of this qualitative shift. Without reducing the importance of these and other factors, however, perhaps it is sufficient simply to note that under such conditions of continued repression it no longer seemed possible to maintain traditional values and beliefs,[31] that, as the old lament points out, "the fear of living for nothing strangles the will."

From the observations of J. S. Slotkin and Paul Radin, it would appear that this was precisely the case with regard to the Native American ethos after 1900. Slotkin, for example, notes that "after the Sioux Disturbance was so ferociously suppressed by the U.S. Army, the Indians became resigned to subordination; consequently, they required a program of accommodation rather than the Ghost Dance program of opposition." Furthermore, the surrogate program, the peyote ceremony, "was nativistic but not militant [as was the Ghost Dance movement]. Culturally, it permitted the Indians to achieve a cultural organization in which they took pride. Socially, it provided a supernatural means of accommodation to the existing domination-subordination relation."[32] Similarly, Paul Radin's final verdict in the 1927 edition of his book, The Story of the American Indian, was that "the Indians were crushed. Their nerve was gone. Broken, disorganized, externally and internally they gave up the fight."[33] Indeed, within only a few years the organization of the movement had all but disappeared.

What Slotkin and Radin and numerous other scholars and popularists were observing, however, was not the transformation of the Native American ethos, but a shift in focus--a change in personnel, as it were--from one ethos to another. For as discourse indicative of the 1890 Native American ethos was rapidly fading into obscurity, an altogether different sort of Native American ethos--one might even say "alter-ethos"--was beginning to emerge. The post-1900 Native American ethos is most aptly characterized in terms of its accommodating secularity,[34] which is to say that after 1900 Native American discourse most frequently focused on specific social, economic, and political problems at highly localized levels. The most important issues, thus, generally were confined to particular individuals at specific locations, which tended to reify a high degree of diversity among the various tribes. Consequently, there is little reason--and even less evidence--to suggest any sort of "movement" or unity among Native Americans during this period.[35]

This dramatic shift from opposition set in a religious context to accommodation set in a secular context has some interesting implications for the present analysis. For such an accommodating secular orientation finds expression not in terms of a messiah, an impending golden age, a return to tribal life, a restortation of earthly values, a "we-they" dichotomy, concern for mobilization, the practice of special rituals, a unifying doctrine, supernatural invulnerability, or religious statements of hope concerning the future, but in the familiar ethic of the subordinate minority attempting to play out the role by adopting and adapting to the values and norms of the dominant culture. Too, in spite of the fact that Native

Americans continued to experience widespread deprivation, there was little point and--because the possibility of collective action was, for all practical purposes, non-existent--little opportunity to express their collective anxiety--especially in light of the fact that both their present and their future were to be determined not by them, but by the federal government.[37] If Native Americans, in fact, were secretly envisioning the destruction of their oppressors, it is by no means evident from their discourse; for not only were they talking less, they were talking differently.

Indeed, some Native Americans went so far as to reject entirely the possibility that their own culture could work along beside or as well as the dominant culture--thus regarding acculturation as an imperative--as is illustrated in the following passage.

> My friends, in conclusion, I must say that I am glad that I can be here with you and see your exercises and be in your meetings; but, my friends, one thing I wish to impress is this: You know that our fathers were characterized as great hunters and brave warriors, but let us show our pale-faced brothers that we no longer wish to be as such; that we do not like to recall the old times, but that we want their civilization and higher type of living, their industrial education; and that we want to serve their God and be loyal, American citizens.(38)

Even those who were more moderate about the urgency and completeness of acculturation nevertheless sought to focus the attention of Native Americans away from tribal life toward gradual acculuration, as the following passage from an address by the Reverend Louis Bruce indicates.

> I have noticed some things since I have been here. I don't think that anybody can accuse the Indian of not being an educational man. I don't think that you could say that they couldn't make good soldiers. I don't think that anybody has ever accused the Indians of not being fighters. I have never seen them stop at anything when they had to fight. I think that the trouble has been that we haven't been fighting in the right direction. I don't say that we have always been treated right; we we have been treated shamefully in some ways. But we must not cry over those things. Those things are gone. I don't think we ought to trouble ourselves too much about it, but we should right it as much as we can. The trouble has been, I think, with ourselves. We are not helping ourselves enough. . . . There is something else that is lacking--there is something else that is fundamentally lacking. I know you know what it is. Now I don't like to talk about myself, but I think

> I have a right to tell you some of my experiences that you might be led or influenced by them in the right direction. In the first place I took up baseball and football, and I think I was pretty successful at both; in fact, I payed my way through college by playing baseball. I have got a pretty fair education, for I studied in the school where I went when I was six years old, and stayed there until the school closed. Then I went to high school. When I got through there I wasn't satisfied and went to the university. I had the physical training and I had the intelletual training.([29])

Even though it is difficult to know precisely how many Native Americans found acculturation acceptable or even desirable, an article from the *Christian Science Monitor* (1913) provides us with at least a rough estimate: "Statistics show that, far from *reverting* to tribal ways, for the more than 4,000 students who have left the Carlisle School without graduating, 94 per cent are self-supporting, most of them with good homes and money in the bank, while of the 639 graduates only five are *not actively useful in some way*" (emphasis added).[30]

Given these quantitative and qualitative shifts, numerous observers followed Radin in predicting the eventual but complete demise of Native Americans. In 1944, however, Radin revised *The Story of the American Indian*, and added a new chapter entitled "Can There Be An Indian Renaissance?" After several years of continued research and careful consideration Radin had come to the conclusion that his earlier remarks had been premature, that the Native American movement had not disappeared altogether, and that an "Indian renaissance" was "quite within the realm of the possible and attainable."[31] Radin's speculation was prompted by the apparent development of tension between the subordinate Native American cultures and the dominant white culture.

In order for one culture to dominate another without precipitating the complete demise of the subordinate culture, some amount of tension between the two must be maintained. Too, the extent to which each culture contributes to this tension is a major determinant in the relative survival of either. Thus, if the dominant culture is able to contribute substanially more, or if the subordinate culture is either prevented from or incapable of making any more than a negligible contribution to this tension, then the situation of the subordinate culture "characteristically leads to helplessness and preoccupation with immediate and momentary survival problems which mitigate against participation in the promotion of any reform."[32]

While some subordinate cultures historically have received assistance from communities of individuals within the dominant culture--as was the case with the anti-slavery movement in the United States--no such outpouring of assistance has yet been made available to the Native American movement.[33]

Thus, with little substantive external assistance and with most of their attention and energy focused on the internal problems of immediate survival, both Native Americans and their movement have remained, until recently, nearly invisible.

The Post-1950 Native American Ethos

As the post-1900 Native American ethos came more and more to be regarded as *the* Native American ethos, numerous scholars and popularists turned their attention to the various factors that contributed to the "fall" of the "American Indian." Over the years a plethora of reports, studies, and monographs have documented the fact that Native Americans have long endured severe deprivation at several levels of their existence.[34] These facts, in turn, became the foundation for the prediction that the "Indian" is a vanishing race. Yet, in spite of--or perhaps because of--these facts, neither Native Americans nor their discourse have fulfilled the expectations of the predicted final fall. In fact, the "Indian renaissance" Radin predicted appears to have been in the making since the "1950s."[35]

Again, however, what we for the most part have failed to realize is that this shift, too, marks the emergence of yet another Native American ethos--the post-1950 Native American ethos. Stanley Steiner comes close to this realization by positing the emergence of a generation of "new Indians": young, university-educated Native Americans overtly seeking to articulate "a human morality and tribal philosophy that weds the ancient with the modern."[36] Closer still is Vine Deloria, Jr., who asserts that "the tremendous sums the government was spending for [Native American] education were beginning to produce results. Rather than a quiet group of civil servants, however, the younger Indians were becoming political theorists, activists, and cultural revivalists."[37] Alone, these explanations are simply too pat. They tell us what, but they do not tell us why. Why did this particular ethos emerge at this particular time? Here, one might mention the fact that many Native Americans became disillusioned when they discovered that their efforts during World War II and the Korean conflict did virtually nothing to alter or improve the quality of life for Native Americans, and the fact that a significant portion of the Native American population became disillusioned when Congress passed the "Termination Resolution" (i.e., House Concurrent Resolution 108, August 8, 1953), which in effect negated the positive effects of both the Miriam Report (1928) and the Indian Reorganization Act (1934).[38] However, without reducing the significance of these and other factors, the most influential factor appears to have been simply that Native Americans began to rediscover in their own ethnic origins not simply an identity, but an entire way of life.

Along these lines Steiner notes that "in speech after speech the tribal leader of today begins with homage to 'our forefathers.' The rebellious Red Muslims of the National Indian Youth Council in their first statement based themselves 'on the inherent strength of the American Indian heritage.' And their demand for a 'Greater Indian America' was founded upon the expanding of the past."[39] In a similar tone Robert Burnette, past Tribal Chairman of the Rosebud Sioux reservation in South Dakota, observes that "whatever the failings of some individuals involved, the activist demonstrations of recent years has been motivated by Indian nationalism; that is, the love of the Indian for his people and tradition."[40] More telling is Deloria's assertion that "the recent Indian activist movement [is attempting] to recoup the lost ground [by returning] to the culture, outlook, and values of the old days."[41]

Thus it would seem that a good many Native Americans are consciously and unconsciously attempting to emulate traditional values and beliefs. In turn, this emulation has resulted, for one thing, in the emergence--or, rather, re-emergence--of tribal religion as a lively option for contemporary Native Americans.[42] Indeed, few themes in contemporary Native American discourse are more prominent that the advantages of tribalism.[43]

It is not surprising, therefore, that some contemporary Native Americans have come to regard divine intervention as a distinct possibility--much as their ancestoral counterparts did. Indeed, Black Elk's vision that, after a great deal of suffering, his people would be returned to a state of happiness and security[44] has been interpreted by some contemporary Native Americans "as a prophecy for the generation now reaching maturity."[45] Nor is it surprising that there appears to be a growing tendency among contemporary Native Americans to turn to tribalism for solutions to problems that for so long have remained unresolved. Both are statements of hope.

What is somewhat surprising--especially in light of some of the recent activists' activities--is that education, not violence, is regarded as the most efficacious means of bringing about this return to tribal life.[46] This point is even more telling in light of the fact that--even though the notion of change through education implies a peaceful doctrine--educating "the people" as to the superiority of tribalism is perceived by some as ultimately resulting in the downfall of all other modes of life. Precisely how this change is to be brought about remains unclear. Still, centrists like Deloria maintain that Native Americans "do not want to threaten anyone. We are only half a million Indians. We simply want the power, the political and economic power, to run our own lives in our own way."[47]

It is, nevertheless, the effectiveness of the activism and militancy of particular contemporary Native American organizations that has attracted so many people and so much attention. Whatever else may be said about such militancy, whatever else their activities may have accomplished, they have made it quite clear that there indeed is a contemporary Native American movement. Such observations present us with a picture of an "Indian renaissance" in which internal organization is achieved through militancy and activism--thereby signaling the return to a program of opposition set in a religious context.

Though such religious activism may be necessary--though not necessarily sufficient--to account for recent qualitative shifts in contemporary Native

American discourse, it remains questionable whether such a program of opposition adequately accounts for recent quantitative increases.[48] For though it may be reasonable to assume that by altering the ethos and pathos of a limited number of rhetors the ethos and pathos of the movement might be somewhat altered, it does not follow that the public's perception of the movement would correspondingly be altered. Moreover, a negative public perception of the Native American ethos--regardless of what members might think it to be--could greatly inhibit the movement's ability to reach beyond its own internal limits. In this regard, the role of the media in bringing the movement's activities to the public's attention should not be underestimated; for the "mass media of communication still play a major part in the creation of publics and the formation of public opinion."[49] The media's propensity for focusing upon violence and the movement's newly acquired penchant for violent eruptions make for a formula that must be taken into account when considering these recent quantitative increases. Whatever the reasons, the fact remains that discourse produced by contemporary Native Americans that is indicative of the post-1950 Native American ethos is both more abundant than and different from Native American discourse indicative of the post-1900 Native American ethos. Indeed, the post-1950 Native American ethos appears to bear a strong resemblance to the 1890 Native American ethos, but little resemblance to the post-1900 Native American ethos.

Summary

With this in mind, we are now in a position to make some general observations. First, of the twelve characteristics discussed with regard to the 1890 Native American ethos, note that the only ones shared by that ethos and the post-1900 Native American ethos are the same two shared by all three ethoi--namely, the advocation of a peaceful doctrine and the experience and expression of widespread deprivation.

Second, note that the post-1900 Native American ethos and the post-1950 Native American ethos share in common five characteristics. However, other than those two that are shared by all three ethoi, the characteristics shared by these two are negative, i.e., the non-advocation of an imminent golden age, the non-advocation of a cultural hero, and the non-advocation of special ritual practices designed to aid in bringing about the golden age.

Third, note that the 1890 Native American ethos and the post-1900 Native American ethos share in common nine of the twelve characteristics--namely, (1) a strong religiosity, (2) concern for mobilization, (3) a militant discursive texture, (4) statements of hope concerning the future, (5) the advocation of returning to tribal life, (6) the vision of restoring earthly values, (7) a clear tendency to be outspoken, and the two characteristics shared by all three ethoi [i.e., (8) a peaceful doctrine, and (9) the experience and expression of widespread deprivation].

On the basis of this evidence, we can conclude that though the post-1950 Native American ethos differs radically from the post-1900 Native American ethos, its characteristics closely parallel the characteristics of the 1890 Native American ethos. However, such a close parallel does not mean that the post-1950 Native American ethos is messianic. Clearly, the absence of a messiah who advocates the use of special spiritual rituals as the means of bringing about the return of the golden age in the immediate future prevents such a conclusion. Yet, given such similarities and the proper conditions, the emergence of a charismatic leader could conceivably transform the contemporary Native American movement into a messianic movement. Moreover, the evidence suggests that similar structural patterns are likely to produce not only similar discursive patterns, but similar behavioral patterns, as well.

The fact that members of the contemporary Native American movement both consciously and unconsciously attempt to emulate the 1890 Native American ethos marks, then, a return to the roots of their heritage, to traditional values and beliefs, to a traditional consciousness. Through their behavior and through their discourse, these "new Indians" have distinguished themselves as "new traditionals."

Selected Afterthoughts

Morris: Questions?

Audience: I'm interested in talking about the renaissance Indians. Are you referring to rennaisance as an era of the Native American community, or as renaissance of the total Native American--that which is within a Native American Community and also as part of the non-Native American community? Bring the two together. That's my interpretation of renaissance.

Morris: That term is Paul Radin's from the 1944 edition of his book--by which he means only revitalization. He was reneging on his earlier prediction that Native Americans were disappearing or were all but gone. He was simply saying that he was wrong.

Audience: When you talked about the Ghost Dance failing on the physical plane, it did fail on a physical point, yes, but on the spiritual plane, it didn't, because it brought in a large number of people. It centalized the ideas, as you say, but it also brought people to realize that there was a spiritual plane.

Morris: What I'm pointing to particularly is the fact that it started to disappear in the discourse--because of the success of the reservation program in isolating Native Americans from one another and from white society, the lack of interest by both scholars and popularists, the lack of access to printing presses, to the media, etc. All of these various factors contributed greatly--plus the fact that it was outlawed, and the fact that it was severely surpressed by the U.S. Army. Those are pretty significant factors in the downfall or the decline the movement discursively.

Audience: Right, and at the time too, they wanted use of the press; the knowledge and skills were not available.

Morris: Very rarely were they ever used.

Audience: In these resurgences of Indian people, there's usually a response from the public--to the Ghost Dance and other things. Now there seems to be a complete blackout by the press of some of the activities--for example the Longest Walk.

Morris: The situation in Akwesasne at present, numerous fish-ins in Washington--a lot of very important events have just been totally blacked out.

Audience: In the American press, from the American press.

Morris: If you want to learn about those things, you will have to pick up Native American press.

Audience: I just wanted to point out that the Indian leaders were trying to bring together the Indians as one group--something that a lot of leaders try to do with these movements. I see some of these on rise today--especially for instance, the American Indian Movement, growing out of the efforts of urban Indians. Not being recognized, they are pulling together among themselves. Take a look at what some of these other tribes are doing with the National Tribal Chairmen's Association, and all of these national groups representing Indians. There is more of a surge for unity than there ever has been among American Indians. The population of Indians is on the increase; I see that there is a re-emergence.

Morris: Yes, I am suggesting that has been happening since the 1950's. That is difficult to pinpoint exactly, but according to my research, that is when the vast majority of Native American newspapers and journals began to appear and emphasize characteristics that I was discussing in the latter part of the paper.

Audience: My name is Michael Dan from Wisconsin Dells. You talked about problems that occurred in the past in this morning's meeting. There are two incidences that occurred before that. One was at Rapid City: they had a riot there; and there was another incident at Custer. That was a clear indication that at that time something was burning with the Native American communities across the United States, and nothing was done.

Morris: There were more incidences than that. There was the Trail of Broken Treaties. There was the takeover of Alcatraz Island. I will discuss some of those in my presentation tomorrow. Tomorrow's presentation will be more concerned with contemporary Native American discourse.

Audience: I wonder if in this post 50's stage, particularly in the last let's say five years or so, there aren't two new elements. Whether they materially effect what you call the new ethos, I don't know. But I would like to suggest one: what seems to be a tendency or willingness for coalition building, coaliton activity, including even non-Indians for specific purposes. I have in mind, for instance, the Black Hills Alliance. The second one--probably unthinkable a long time ago, certainly around 1900, but international. Call it even a third world coalition, which is manifested for instance by a recent issue of Tony Stately's Circle from Minneapolis--a page spread on Guatemala--and the latest Akwesasne Notes has a center section on Nicaragua.

Morris: In fact, that has been going on with Akwesasne for a while. They emphasize and focus upon the third world, identification with other native individuals. Certainly that has brought to the attention of the major press something that they have not much focused on before. About four months ago or so, in Newsweek an article actually focused on precisely that point. I was astonished. That's one of the things that I'll be focusing on tomorrow. Thank you.

Endnotes

[1] In searching through the journals I have uncovered only nine articles dealing with contemporary Native Americans--viz., Ruth M. Arrington, "Indian Studies: Where Are We?" Association for Communication Administration Bulletin, xxii (October 1977), pp. 34-35; Ruth M. Arrington, "Some American Indian Voices," Communication Education, xxiv (September, 1975), pp. 191-194; H. A. Bosmajian, "Defining the 'American Indian': A Case Study in the Language of Supression," The Speech Teacher, xxi (March, 1973), pp. 89-99; Lynn R. Osborn and Fayne C. Porter, "Pro-grams of Speech and Drama Operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs," Communication Education, xiv (September 1965), pp. 181-183; Lynn R. Osborn, "The Indian Pupil in the High School Speech Class," Communication Education xvi (September, 1967) pp. 187-189; Lynn R. Osborn, "Speech Communication and the American Indian High School Student," Communication Education, xvii (January, 1968); Lynn R. Osborn, Charles G. Ballard, Kenneth G. Ross, and Spencer Sahmaunt, "Relevant Speech Education for the American Indian," Central States Speech Journal, xxi (Winter, 1970), pp. 255-264; G. Philipsen, "Navajo World View and Cultural Patterns of Speech: A Case Study in Ethnorhetoric," Speech Monographs, 39 (June, 1972), pp. 132-139; and Ralph R. Sisson, "English and the Indian Linguistic Dilemma," Communication Quarterly, xvii (February, 1969) pp. 9-16.

I would also acknowledge that at the 1974 meeting of the Central States Speech Association Joyce Frost presented a paper entitled "A Rhetorical Analysis of Wounded Knee II, 1973: A Conflict Perspective," which was derived from her dissertation on the subject. At the same time I would note that both the metholdology and the substatnce of the present thesis offer a substantively different perspective on the subject.

[2] This point lies at the heart of parts two and three (pp. 33-104) of Robert F. Berkhofer's extensively documented work, The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present (New York: Random House, 1979); hereafter cited as Berkhofer, The White Man's Indian.

[3] Nine articles are relevant in this connection--viz., Theodore Balgooyen, "Study of Con-

flicting Values: Indian Affairs," Western Speech, xxvi (Spring, 1972), pp. 76-82; Lois E. Buswell, "The Oratory of the Dakota Indians," The Quarterly Journal of Speech, xxi (June, 1935), pp. 323-327; A. M. Drummond and Richard Moody, "Indian Treaties: The First American Dramas," The Quarterly Jounal of Speech, xxxix (February, 1953), pp. 15-24; Richard A. Ek, "Red Cloud's Cooper Union Address", Central States Speech Journal, xvii (May, 1944), pp. 257-262; Frank W. Merritt, "Teedyusung--Speaker for the Delawares," Today's Speech, iii (November, 1955), pp. 14-18; Mabel Morris, "Indian Oratory," The Southern Speech Journal, x (September, 1944), pp. 29-35; Mabel Morris, "Indian Eloquence," Western Speech, vii (May, 1944), p. 3; James H. O'Donnell III, "Logan's Oration: A Case Study in Ethnographic Authentication," The Quarterly Journal of Speech, lxv (April, 1979), pp. 150-156; and Vio Mae Powell, "Dramatic Ritual as Observed in the Sun Dance," The Quarterly Journal of Speech, xxiii (April, 1947), pp. 167-171.

[4] Certainly the rise of cultural anthropology subsequent to the work of Franz Boas and his students has done much to repudiate and displace the "scientific" racism of the 19th century. In fact, scholars such as Clark Wissler, Robert Lowie, Alfred Kroeber, Paul Radin, Elsie Clews Parsons, and others who professed to examine Native Americans, Native American cultures, and Native American problems in terms of a cultural pluralism and relativity that explicitly rejects judgments concerning either the moral superiority of white civilization or the moral degeneracy of Native American civilizations has done much to enlighten our understanding of Native Americans.

[5] A thorough treatment of this subject may be found in Robert F. Berkhofer's work, The White Man's Indian.

[6] A detailed account of this point extends beyond the scope of this thesis. However, further analysis of the religious ethos found in tribal societies in general may be found in any of the following sources: E. Durkheim, The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life, J. W. Swain, trans. (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1947); R. H. Lowie, Primitive Religion (New York, Boni & Liveright, 1924); B. Malinowski, Magic, Science and Religion

and Other Essays (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1955); P. Radin, *Primitive Religion: Its Nature and Origin* (New York: The Viking Press, 1937); and R.H. Turner and L. M. Killian, *Collective Behavior* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1972).

For analyses relating specifically to messianic movements and the religious nature of the Native American ethos see, e.g., D. F. Aberle, "The Prophet Dance and Reaction to White Contact," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, 15 (1959), pp. 74-83; B. Barber, "Acculturation and Messianic Movements," *American Sociological Review*, 6 (1941), pp. 666-669; C. Du Bois, *The 1870 Ghost Dance* (Berkeley, CA: The University of California Press, 1939); A. Lesser, *The Pawnee Ghost Dance and Hand Game: A Study in Cultural Change* (New York: The Columbia University Press, 1933); R. Linton, ed., *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes* (New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1940); J. Mooney, *The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970); P. Radin, *The Road of Life and Death: A Ritual Drama of the American Indian* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1953); P. Radin, *The Story of the American Indian* (New York: Liveright, 1944); J. S. Slotkin, *The Peyote Religion: A Study in Indian-White Relations* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1956); N. Smelser, *Theory of Collective Behavior*, esp. "The Value-Oriented Movements," pp. 313-381 (New York: The Free Press, 1971); R. M. Underhill, *Red Man's Religion* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1965); F. W. Voget, "The American Indian in Transition: Reformation and Accomodation," *American Anthropologist*, 58 (1956), pp. 249-263; and J. Wilson, *Introduction to Social Movements*, esp. "The Generation of Discontent" and "The Mobilization of Discontent," pp. 32-155 (New York: Basic Books, 1973).

[7] Concerning this point, see, e.g. C. Du Bois, *The Ghost Dance* (Berekley: The University of California Press, 1939), hereafter cited as Du Bois, *The 1870 Ghost Dance*; J. Mooney, *The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), hereafter cited as Mooney, *The Ghost Dance Religion*; and J.S. Slotkin, *The Peyote Religion: A Study in Indian-White Relations* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1956), hereafter cited as Slotkin, *The Peyote Religion*.

[8] Aside from specific sociological and psychological considerations, the argument can be made that the movement actually had its origins in the visions of Tavibo, who *may* have been the father of Wovoka. However, there is little evidence to suggest that the teachings and prophetic claims of Tavibo actually generated a movement *per se*. Concerning this point, see, e.g., Mooney, *The Ghost Dance Religion*, esp. Chapter I.

[9] See, e.g., Barber, "Acculturation and Messianic Movements," *American Sociological Review*, 6 (1941) pp. 666-9; Du Bois, *The 1870 Ghost Dance*; Lesser, *The Pawnee Ghost Dance and Hand Game*; Mooney, *The Ghost Dance Religion*; and Slotkin, *The Peyote Religion*. See also, e.g., V. I. Armstrong, *I Have Spoken* (Chicago: The Swallow Press, 1971); Chief Standing Bear, *Chief Standing Bear: An Autobiography* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1926); L. T. Jones, *Aboriginal American Oratory: The Tradition of Eloquence Among the Indians of the United States* (Los Angeles: Southwestern Museum, 1965); T.C. McLuhan, *Touch the Earth: A Self-Portrait of Indian Existence* (New York: Outerbridge and Dienstfrey, 1971); J. G. Neihard, *Black Elk Speaks* (New York: Pocket Books, 1975); P. Radin, *Crashing Thunder: The Autobiography of an American Indian* (New York: Appleton, 1926); A. Shoemaker, *The Red Man Speaks* (Doylestown, PA: Doylestown Printing Shop, 1947); D. C. Talayseva, ed., *Sun Chief: Auto-biography of a Hopi* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1942); F. W. Turner, *The Portable North American Indian Reader* (Kingsport, TN: Penguin Books, 1980); and W. C. Vanderwerth, *Indian Oratory: Famous Speeches by Noted Indian Chieftans* (Norman, OK: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1971).

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Wovoka, "The Messiah Letters," as quoted in Mooney, *The Ghost Dance Religion*, p. 23.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid.

[15] See, e.g., Mooney, *The Ghost Dance Religion*, esp. Chapters IV and V

[16] Ibid., p. 34.

[17] See, e.g., Barber, "Acculturation and Messianic Movements," p. 663; and Mooney, *The Ghost Dance Religion*.

[18] Young Chief Joseph, "An Indian's view of Indian Affairs," *North American Review* 269 (April, 1979), p.425.

[19] See e.g., Barber, "Acculturation and Messianic Movements;" D. Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* (New York: Bantam Books, 1972); W. A. Brophy, et. al., *The Indian: American's Unfinished Business* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969); Mooney, *The Ghost Dance Religion*; Slotkin, *The Peyote Religion*; and Voget, "The American Indian in Transition."

[20] See e.g., Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian*, esp. part three, pp. 71-104.

[21] For example, Neil Smelser, *Theory of Collective Behavior*, asserts that "a value oriented movement [i.e., a collectivity, motivated by a generalized belief, that attempts to restore, protect, modify of create values] under conditions of continuous repression tends to become moribund, It evolves progressively toward the most passive and least politicallly threatening form of organization, even though the destruction of the oppressors is secretly envisioned. In extreme cases the organization of the movement disappears altogether." (p. 366).

[22] Slotkin, *The Peyote Religion*, p. 20.

[23] P. Radin, *The Story of the American Indian* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1927), p. 371.

[24] This is not to say, of course, that *all* Native American discourse produced after 1900 and before 1950 can be accommodated by such a general category. Indeed, a small portion of the compara- tively little extant discourse produced during this period is reminiscent of the 1890 Native American ethos--see e.g., Armstrong, *I Have Spoken*; Standing Bear, *Chief Standing Bear*; Jones, *Aboriginal American Oratory*; McLuhan, *Touch the Earth*;

Neihardt, Black Elk Speaks; Radin, Crashing Thunder; Schoemaker, The Red Man Speaks; Talayseva, Sun Chief; F. W. Turner, The Portable North American Reader; and Vanderwerth, Indian Oratory.

[25] Concerning post-1900 Native American discourse indicative of an accommodating secular orientation see, e.g., The Amerindian (Chicago: M. E. Grindley, 1952--); The Christian Indian (Wheaton, IL: Alliance Indian Publications, 1978--); Indian Teepee (Independence, MO: American Indian Associa- tion, 1924-1928); The Native American (Phoenix, AZ: Phoenix Indian School, 1904); and The Red Man (Carlisle, PA: Carlisle Indian School, 1909-1917).

[26] Turner and Killian, Collective Behavior, observe that "[I]t may be postulated that the more heterogeneous an aggregate is, the less conducive the situation is for collective behavior. At least a minimum of cultural homogeneity and a certain 'we-feeling' are necessary as a basis for the communication between [sic] individuals that is essential to the development of collective behavior." (p. 63).

[27] Concerning this point see, e.g., Berkhofer, The White Man's Indian, esp. part four, pp. 113-186.

[28] Michael Wolf, "Address by Michael Wolf," as quoted in The Red Man, 2 (May, 1911), p. 433.

[29] Louis Bruce, "Address by Rev. Louis Bruce," as quoted in The Red Man, 5 (May, 1913), pp. 416-417.

[30] The Christian Science Monitor, as quoted in The Red Man, 5 (June, 1913), p. 477.

[31] P. Radin, The Story of the American Indian (New York: Liveright, 1944), p. 379.

[32] Turner and Killian, Collective Behavior, p. 247.

[33] For an interesting perspective on this issue see, e.g., Berkhofer, The White Man's Indian, esp. part four, pp. 113-186.

[34] See, e.g., E. C. Adams, American Indian Education: Government, Schools, and Economic Progress (New York: King's Crown Press, 1946);W. A. Brophy, et. al., The Indian; H. Bahr, Native

Americans Today: Sociological Perspectives (New York: Harper and Row, 1972); E.S. Cahu, *Our Brother's Keeper: The Indian in White America* (Washington, DC: New Community Press, 1969); R. Gassner, *Massacre: A Survey of Today's American Indians* (New York: J. Cape and H. Smith, 1931); L. Hanke, *Aristotle and the American Indians: A Study in Race Prejudice in the Modern World* (Chicago: H. Regnery Co., 1959); W. R. Jacobs, *Rural Indian Americans in Poverty* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1969); A. M. Josephy, Jr., "The Ameican Indian and the Bureau of Indian Affairs: A Study with Recommendations," *Red Power*, A. M. Josephy, Jr., ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971); A. Keiser, *The Indian In American Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971); A. L. Slotkin, *American Indians and Federal Aid* (Wahington: Brookings Institute,1971); S. Tax and S. Stanley, "Indian Identity and Economic Development," *Red Power*, A. M. Josephy, Jr., ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971); U.S. Accounting Office, Comptroller General, *Slow Progress in Eliminating Substandard Indian Housing* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1971); U.S. Congressional Joint Economic Committee, *Toward Economic Development for Native American Communities* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1971); U.S. Department of Commerce, Ecomonic Development Administration, *Indian Economic Development* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1961); U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Indian Affairs. *Economic Development of Indians and Indian Organizations* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1972); U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Indian Affairs, *Indian Education: A National Tragedy--A National Challenge* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1969); M. Wax and R. Wax, "Cultural Deprivation as an Educational Ideology," *Journal of American Education*, 3 (January, 1964); and M. L. Wax, *Indian Americans: Unity and Diversity* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1971).

[38] It is difficult, at best, to ascertain accurately the exact date when the post-1950 Native American ethos began to emerge. However, while Native American discourse exhibits marked changes in both quantity and quality during the "1960's" and the "1970's," less dramatic changes began to appear during the "1950's." The major indicator I have used in this regard is the emergence of Native American-sponsored journals and newspapers touting the major characteristics of the 1890 Native American ethos. See, e.g., *ABC: Americans Before*

Columbus (Washington, DC: National Indian Youth Council, 1953--); *Akwesasne Notes* (Rooseveltown, NY: Mohawk Nation, 1969--); *Alligator Times* (Florida: Seminole Tribe of Florida, 1972--); *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* (Los Angeles: American Indian University of California, 1974--); *American Indian Law Newsletter* (Albuquerque, NM: American Indian Law Association, 1968--); *American Indian Press Association* (Washington, DC: Amercian Indian Press Association, 1975); *American Indian Quarterly* (Hurst, TX: Southwest American Indian Society, 1974--); *American Indian Tradition* (Alton, IL: Society of American Indian Tradition, 1954-1963); *ANICA News Highlights* (Seattle, WA: Alaska Native Indian Cooperative Association, Inc., 1971--); *Announcements* (Boulder, CO: Native American Rights Fund, 1972--); *Bear Facts Newsletter* (Berkeley, CA: Native American Studies Department, University of California, 1973--); *Blue Cloud News* (Marvin, SD: Blue Cloud Abbey, 1966--); *California Independent Legal Services Newsletter* (Berkeley, CA: Californina Independent Legal Services, 1971--); *Chahta Anumpa* (Nashville, TN: Southeastern Indian Antiquity Survey, Inc., 1968- 1971); *Char-Koosta* (Dixon, MT: Confederated Salish and Kootena Tribes, 1972--); *Cherokee One-Feather* (Cherokee, NC: Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, 1971--); *Cherokee Nation News* (Tahlequah, OK: 1966-1977); *Choctaw Community News* (Philadelphia, MS); *Dine baa-hane* (Chinle, AZ: Navajo Nation, 1969-1973); *DNA Newsletter* (Window Rock, AZ: *Deibeiina Nahiilna Be Agaditahe*, Inc., 1977-1981); *Drumbeats* Santa Fe, NM: Institute of American Indian Arts, 1973); *Drums* (Keshena, WI: Drums, Inc., 1971); *Four Lakes Newsletter* (Madison, WI: Four Lakes, Inc., 1977-1981); *The Indian Historian* (San Francisco: The American Indian Historical Society. 1964--); *Indian Voice* (Santa Clara, CA: Native American Publishing Co., 1971-1973); *Many Smokes* (Reno, NV: Universal Indian Brotherhood, 1966--); *NASC News* (St. Paul, MN: Native American Solidarity Committee, 1976--); *NCAI Newsletter* (Washington, DC: National Congress of American Indians, 1945-1958); *The Navajo Times* Window Rock, AZ: The Navajo Tribe, 1968--); *The Renegade* (Tacoma, WA: SAIA, 1971-1972); *Shannon County News* (Pine Ridge, SD: Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, 1972-1974); *The Times of the Americans*, (Washington, DC: All Americas, 1971--); *The Warpath* (San Francisco: United Native Americans, Inc., 1969-1973); and *Wassaja* (San Francisco: The American Indian Historical Society, 1973--).

[36] Stanley Steiner, *The New Indians* (New York: Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 1968), p. x.

[37] V. Deloria, Jr., *God is Red* (New York: Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 1975), pp. 42-43.

[38] Concerning these issues see, e.g., Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian*, pp. 176-186; and Brophy, *The Indian*, p. 22.

[39] Steiner, *The New Indians*, p. 120.

[40] Robert Burnette and John Koster, *The Road to Wounded Knee* (New York: Bantam Books, 1974), p. 285.

[41] Deloria, *God Is Red*, p. 247.

[42] Concerning this point, see, e.g., Burnette and Koster, *The Road*, esp. chapter two; and Deloria, *God is Red*, esp. chapters 4-13.

[43] See, e.g., any issue of *Akwesasne Notes*.

[44] Concerning Black Elk's vision, see, Neihardt, *Black Elk Speaks*, pp. 17-39.

[45] Burnette and Koster, *The Road*, p. 32.

[46] Ibid., p. 68.

[47] V. Deloria, Jr., as quoted in Steiner, *The New Indians*, p. 269.

[48] The following essays are of particular interest in this connection: Bosmajian, "Defining the American Indian," Ek, "Red Cloud's Cooper Union Address," and Philipsen, "Navajo World View."

[49] Turner and Killian, *Collective Behavior*, p. 214.

ANTONY STATELY, INTRODUCTION:

James P. Danky

Our next speaker will be Antony Stately, who is editor of the Circle in Minneapolis, Minnesota. The Circle is just one program of the Minneapolis American Indian Center which is an organization that serves as the focal point for the largest urban community of Native Americans in the United States. Antony has been on the staff of the Circle for about 18 months, most of this time as editor. One of the importances for me of Tony's work with the Circle is that there is currently no Native American publication from Milwaukee which is Wisconsin's largest concentration of urban Indians. The Milwaukee Indian News is no longer published and at least for the moment one of the editors we'll hear from tomorrow, Zoar, has suspended publication since November. So I thought it was important that we hear about a publication that comes from an urban area. Tony.

THE CIRCLE

Antony Stately

When James first called and asked me to speak he gave me an idea of the areas to talk on. I am going to touch on those but I also put together my own theme. He asked me to speak on the mechanics of putting together a paper and on the similarities that we have with major newspapers and tribal newspapers. The only thing that I can think of is that we all basically do the same thing: we all basically write, edit, find stories, lay out. Those are all mechanics that we share with major newspapers and tribal newspapers.

A big part of producing a newspaper is decision making. You have to constantly question yourself. Every time you sit down to produce the newspaper, each edition, you should question yourself, your staff, and everyone involved in putting together that newspaper. What is the most important? What is the most creative? What is the most enlightening? What do your readers want to see? It is much the same way a council of editors would get together--managing editors of a big newspaper--to talk about the news of the day.

The problem with the Circle is that we are a monthly publication. By the time we go to press, things that happened two weeks ago are old news, and some people already know about it. So we have to figure out how we are going to make the paper creative and interesting. Usually, it comes down to staying up late two nights before we go to press to write new stories.

A big part of putting together a Native American paper, I feel, is questioning ourselves as to why our publication exists. You have to keep in mind the reasons why our publication first started. Why a newspaper? Our publication was started because the free press does not give us a lot of media coverage. When it does, it is usually biased or stereotyped, or they give us coverage on our powwows--insignificant things, really. Our publication was started because we have an important message. Our publication was started to answer to those needs.

The Circle came in handy in a big way in Minneapolis recently. One of the major news stations there, WCCO, had a series of reports called the "Indian Ways Series," which sparked a lot of controversy within the Indian community. A lot of the leaders and community people felt that WCCO presented one side of the story. It presented all urban Indians as destitute, all living in desperation. practically starving. A lot of us got together to discuss the situation. One thing I always point out to the free press is that they always play on our alcohol problem. They never miss that, never. They have never once said anything about Indians without touching that chemical dependency. The Circle had a big role with that mainly because the American Indian movement requested WCCO to let Native Americans produce their own news show. After we haggled with them for a month and a half, they finally gave it to us. The Circle published a lot of the editorials that really made WCCO look bad. People were writing and calling WCCO racists. Their producer, James Rupp, and the station manager, Ron Hamburg, said, "Well we do not mind being caught on data reporting, but no one can call us racists. That is specific."

The Circle is an inhouse program in the office of the American Indian Center. So the Center tends to think of the Circle as one of its programs.

The previous numbered page in the original document was blank.

I have some problems with that sometimes, because I have to deal with the board of directors and the advisory board. I tend to think of the Circle less as a program inside the Center and more as a news vehicle for the community. I do not think of the board of directors as my governing power, although they do have the power to tell me what to do, and they can take my job away if they want to. But I weigh the community side more heavily. The community tells me they want something covered; or they give me something important; or they tell me "No we do not want this," or "We do not think this is right." I will seriously weigh the situation. I feel the community is more right than the board of directors. I usually go with the community, then I take knocks from the board of directors.

The Circle is really important in the Twin Cities Indian community. It is the only newspaper for Native Americans out of 44 publications within the Twin Cities. Sometimes that is scary, being the only one and knowing that a lot of people are counting on you. Right now, it is exceptionally difficult, because I am the only person on the editorial staff. I'm trying to get more staff to come in. I have a new secretary who I'm training part time. I do everything else for the paper. Sometimes the job is fun and sometimes it's really difficult. Mainly, I get scared, sometimes, because if I make a mistake there are a lot of people out there to answer to. I see the Circle mainly as the voice of the community. It is the only place in Minneapolis where American Indians can voice their opinions. They can write in and say, "Hey I didn't like that," and a lot of times the free press (like the major news stations and newspapers in the Twin Cities) won't cover Indian events. That's where the Circle comes in. Granted that I do not always get to cover everything important. But if I do not, I always try to make sure that I have a news release or something somebody sends in to me. Some news is better than none at all.

The Circle is unique in that it has a close tie with the community. I depend a lot in the production of the Circle on news stories from free-lancers within the community. I think that is a good position to be in because I tend to have a problem with being editor; I tend to be biased a lot. Having a lot of free-lance writers being involved with the production of the paper helps me because then it doesn't look like just my views on a certain subject. I have what is called a writer's advisory committee. It is formulated of twelve free-lancers in the community. Every month we sit down and talk about what are the most important events and who is going to cover what. Each person gets assigned a story. Before we even do that, we take the paper that we put out last month to go through it and review it. We find out what worked, what didn't, what was a good idea, what wasn't. Was this story written properly? Should we have expounded on this subject more? I really depend a lot on that committee to keep me in line and work with me.

I also have a Circle advisory board, which is made up of board members. Last year, when I first came on board, the advisory board's main purpose was to select and advise me on material that was going into the paper. Before I would even go to press, I would take it to the advisory board to show them what was going in the paper that month. They'd go through it, and if they thought they found anything that was harmful to the Indian community or harmful to the American Indian Center, they'd tell me to pull it. They are not supposed to be able to do that, but they got away with it. My job was hanging over my head. A lot of times, when I first started, they kept me in line with that; mainly, "Your job is hanging over your head so you better do it." That's what the bottom line was. I have gotten away from that. They do not threaten me so easily any more, because I know they need me just as badly. It is a hard job to do, but someone's got to do it. Just recently, last month, I had a board meeting with them and I changed their role. (This was unique; I'm never supposed to tell them what to do, they're supposed to tell me what to do.) Basically, I told them that I thought in order for them to tell me what to do, they had to set some clear bylaws that would describe their role in the paper and my role in working with them. So basically, I told them they could go ahead and remain as an advisory board and tell me what to do, but if I wanted to keep something in, if I thought something was significant enough, that the people needed to know about it, I was going to go ahead and publish it with the ramifications that if it turned out badly I'd lose my job. I agreed to that.

I turned them into a task force--mainly because there are a lot of problems in having a non-profit paper. There are a lot of problems with that. We do not have money to distribute. We do not have money to mail. We need all this money. It is devastating when you do not have a lot of money and you want to do all these things. We have all these great ideas and we do not have the money to do them. One thing I've tried to do is curb the need for staff by going out to colleges in the Twin Cities to recruit interns. That hasn't been so successful lately. But I didn't start doing it until the middle of the semester. I should do it at the beginning of the semester. I have also curbed the expense of distributing the paper by assigning each staff person in the Center a dropoff point. There are 78 people working in the Center, so that really helps.

But what do you do if you do not have that many people to distribute for you? Well, what you do is sit down and go through a foundation book. There are a lot of foundations that give small grants to Native American papers. There are a lot of foundations that are set up mainly for the Native American press, and they can be found in foundation guides. Write to them and tell them about your publication and what it does. The Circle is unique and I think that we got a lot of our funding for that reason. We're the only newspaper in the Twin Cities that serves the Native American community, which I think, is a strong leg to stand on.

Another big problem with producing a newspaper in an urban area, and not having any money, is mailing. It costs the Circle well over $120 to mail each month. When we originally got a grant for the newspaper from Dayton-Hudson Foundation, we had a lot of money. But the way the proposal was originally set up, it was going to be in decreasing amounts as the years went on, and now we are just barely making it. So I cut the paper by four pages to save on printing expenses. I cut the color out. I really didn't feel the need to have the two-tone color. Most people identify a newspaper as black and white. People were writing and calling the newspaper a magazine, which was nice; but it's not a magazine, it's a newspaper. That saved a lot of money and printing costs, which I redirected toward mailing and getting more money to have free-lancers come in. When you continually have a depleting budget, you have to sit down each month and start saying, "Well we have X amount of papers left over, let's cut our production by that much." You've got to continually watch your program; you've got to continually watch your management. It is hard if you do not have the staff to do it. Those are just little things.

Another good strategy is to put the job on somebody else by formulating committees. If you have a board of directors, formulate committees. That's how I did it. I formulated committees. "This is your job, take it." That really helps. A good committee to have is one that redirects and evaluates priorities. That's important because it follows your management and the direction of your paper. You need that because the community that you're serving is always going to be changing and expanding and growing. It is important that you change with that community because if you stay the same and the community changes they no longer have the need for you. So it's important to set up a priorities and redirection committee; or just once in a while, if you're the only staff member, take a look at the paper to make sure you're going in the same direction as the community. Once you establish a strong bond with the community, try to do something to strengthen that, so that bond acts as a bridge and never a barrier. Once you've offended the community it's hard to get back into their good graces again.

I see Native American press as moving in the future and as playing an important role in the nation. I see it playing an important role in the Twin Cities. I see the Circle expanding and someday branching out. We're close to self-sufficiency. We are walking the fine line and I'm excited. Sometimes I get depressed about it; I want to make more money. I want the paper to do better and make more money, but it's hard. We're close to self-sufficiency. That's what you always want to work for. You always want to try to find ideas that'll get you to that goal, to being a self-sufficient paper. Someday you can tear out that little government permit that says "non-profit organization" and start putting some stamps on it.

A woman came in my office about two weeks ago. She was from London. We were talking about the paper, and she was telling me about the importance Native American Press and Native American ideals play in Europe. She was telling me that a lot of people do not know what's going on. I sent about one hundred copies of the Circle back with her. I said, "Here, show them what is going on." She told me that she was the editor for a children's book, Return of the Indian Spirit. She was telling me that she did the book because she felt a close bond between the values and traditions of Indian people and herself. She said something interesting that really struck me. She said Indian values gave her a glimmer of hope and encouraged her to tackle difficult decisions in life. She said, "Indian values will rescue this world from themselves. People everywhere need to look to Indian values and traditions, if we are to survive the present state we are in." I see that as an important part of Native American newspapers in this country. I see Indian media as being tools for that social change of spreading the word. I see Indian newspapers and Indian media as here to break molds, molds that have been with non-Indian people for 200 years and more. We're doing it creatively, humorously, sensitively. That is the most important thing; and we're doing it untypically.

The Circle's changing fast; sometimes it moves faster than me. I do not have a chance to catch up to it. We're presently changing format. I've recently taken a good hard look at the paper and the books and found out we're losing money. The format we were using was really unusual. No other paper had it. It had just two five-inch columns. We were losing money through our advertisers. Our rates were the same as other newspapers', but our columns were bigger. People were paying $10.00 for a large column. We were losing money, so I totally redesigned the paper. In June it's going to be a totally different paper again.

It is interesting. I take a look at when I first started back in 1975. It was a little stapled together newsletter. Then I look at when the first edition of the newspaper came out in 1980 after we got our first grant. And I look at it now. Whenever I feel depressed about my job, whenever I feel like nothing is going right, I just lay out those three issues and I smile and I say, "We're doing well compared to two years ago, we're doing well." That gives me the strength to go on. It is hard working in an urban setting. I'm sure it's hard working in a reservation setting, where there's hardly any money. Dollars are tight; we have to pull together. One thing I see as being important is that we all have to pull together in order to survive. Urban newspapers and reservation newspapers are going to have to form a link, an association where we can give information back and forth.

One important news association that just came out is the Great Lakes Region Association that Paul Demain started. We get a lot of our information from the Lac Courte Oreilles Journal for the Wisconsin area. Organizations like that need to be started in Minnesota, because there is a definite need for it. I never know what's happening on the reservation, and someone comes back and says, "Well, why wasn't this covered?" And I just look at the person and say, "That's a good question." I just can't do all of it. I'm going to be working in the future to start a news association between reservations and urban newspapers, because it is important. I'm also going to try to involve representatives from major news media (from radio stations and television stations, newspapers like the Minneapolis Star Tribune) so that if they do not cover something, we can come back and say, "You knew about it. Why didn't you publish it?" Or, if they do insensitive reporting, we can say, "You had a representative here who's part of the association. Why is this explained this way? Why is this like that?" You've got to formulate ties, even if it's nobody really important. At least somebody within the corporation can go back to the managing editor or the vice-president and say something, whereas if you do not have a voice at all you can't do that.

A big change for the Circle recently was cutting back in the amount of pages we produce. We were used to printing sixteen pages all the time, just filling it full of press releases. I took a good hard look at the paper and what I was doing with those four pages. I was filling them up with bland, boring press releases. So I eliminated some of that, and it really helped to cut back the paper. I didn't have so much white space. I've got to admit, I've made a lot of mistakes in my year and a half. Most of that time was not spent as editor. Most of it was spent as assistant editor. This is my second shot at editor. Well, that's it, that's not a very professional talk, but I talked about what I know.

Selected Afterthoughts

Danky: What struck me was the fragile nature of your publication and your position. That seems to have a lot to do with your success, that you've made it a community vehicle. But it has your imprint on it. It would look very different if someone else was the editor.

Stately: Well, your paper is always going to change as editors change. Different people have different ideas. A big thing for me was that I had a conflict of interest with my first editor. She had seen it as being a magazine-style thing, and that was okay, but that is one thing that really made us unique. A lot of people told us that the art work and graphics throughout the paper made us unique, and I've seen a lot of papers turning to that after the Circle started coming out, but it really upset me when people called the newspaper a magazine. I don't know why, it just did. We are supposed to be a newspaper, we are supposed to be serious. It upset me when they called it a magazine.

Audience: How do the other publications in the area treat you? Have there been any ties made at all?

Stately: The major newspapers? They treat us like we do not exist. I have no ties and no communications with the St. Paul paper at all. I have a few ties with the Minneapolis Star and Tribune which recently merged as you know. I know the managing editor. I know one of the retired people. One thing that I forgot to mention is that we called up the Star and Tribune and asked them if they knew of any retired editors that would be willing to come in and help us, and one did. He showed us where we were making mistakes and he showed us how to redirect our paper. It is important to use those resources. If you've got a major newspaper in your town, call up and say, "Do you have a retired person, that you might know of?" Mr. Greer, the person who came in and helped us was instrumental. He was really important in helping me clean up my writing. There was a time when I would not even write for the Circle because I did not feel that I had enough knowledge to do it. I still do not feel that I am good enough.

Audience: To whom do you send your subscriptions?

Stately: We are nationwide now. When we first started we were just a city's local. Now our circulation is 10,000 and about 8,000 of those are distributed free within the Twin Cities area, to governmental, educational, and social service agencies where people are most apt to pick them up.

Audience: Do you have any subscribers in the colleges among the students?

Stately: Yes, we do.

Audience: In Minnesota?

Stately: Yes, in Minnesota. We have subscriptions from all over. I'd say about 2,000 of those 10,000 go all over the country, but our highest readership is in Minnesota.

Audience: Are they paying subscribers?

Stately: Most of them are, yes. I just got a directive from the board telling me to stop all the complimentary copies and I do not agree with that. I think it is important that people who do not have money but still depend on the paper get it. I think it is important that we still go ahead and distribute it. But the board is right that it is getting costly. We have some international subscriptions too. It is always exciting to have someone from Switzerland send in their subscription. I haven't figured out what they use the paper for yet.

Audience: In terms of circulation, how many Circles go to libraries--not for free distribution but in terms of keeping them? And do you have ties at all with local papers that are not the established commercial press? In other words, at an intermediate level? Because there's been an explosion, surely in the Twin Cities and maybe elsewhere, of what might be called community or neighborhood newsletters.

Stately: Yes, Minneapolis ranks number one in the nation in the amount

of papers that are published. We are a member of the Small Press Association, which monitors all the community newspapers. We have strong ties with them. Sandra King the old editor of the paper now writes for the City Desk and I see that as being important. Sandy is already starting to change the direction of the City Desk. She's written a number of stories on Indians, for instance, she's written a couple of stories on the Wahpeton school closing. The City Desk never touched on Indian things before. I see it as being important because the City Desk supplies news articles not only to the Circle, because we are a member, but to all the other small community newspapers--places where the Circle does not go. We have a strong tie with the Small Press Association in Minneapolis. Sometimes I think that is more important than having a strong tie with the major newspapers because, as you say, there has been a big boom in community newspapers. If you can get your newspapers to become saleable, it is a good market. That is what everybody is looking toward.

Audience: With the new boom in audio-visual presentations of news items do you feel as a young editor that Native Americans will be getting more involved in this as it grows?

Stately: Everybody in Minneapolis is getting into video now. I don't know if any of you are familiar with MIGIZI Communications? That's radio and they are starting to branch off into video. There are so many things you can do with video. But why does one have to take place of another? Why can't they work together? I think that is what is going to happen. We do not have one thing the major newspapers and other media have, and that is the continual greed to steal one market away from somebody else. We do not have that anyway. I don't feel any competition. If anything, I am looking forward to working together with the MIGIZI Corporation. The executive director wants his reporters to work with me and we are going to form a correlation. I am really looking forward to that because the Circle gets a lot of international stories that MIGIZI does not and who is going to pick up a newspaper and read it when they can hear it over the radio. My mother once told me something. She said if you build a good foundation, whatever you build after that might fall down, but you've still got your foundation. I relate that to the paper and think we may branch off and we may take different directions. And if they fail that's all right, but at least we still have that same foundation we started out with: being a small community newspaper for Indians and a voice for them. Sometimes I have pipe dreams, and I say, "We're going to have our own television station some day, and I'm going to be a news anchor man." I think it's going to happen some day. It might happen sooner than ten years. Maybe five years from now Indian people will have a news network, like ABC news. Maybe we will have that, maybe we won't. In the meantime, we have small networks that work together, and that does the job. I try not to think too far ahead, because when I start thinking far ahead, I lose track of what I'm doing now. That newspaper is the most important thing in my life right now. I dedicate every free moment I have to it when it calls for it.

Audience: Do you exchange newspapers with other organizations?

Stately: Yes, we do. We exchange papers with a lot of other Indian newspapers. I use them for reference. They are good to have. I always go back and refer to dates. But we do exchange papers even with non-Indian organizations. It is important to have non-Indian ties too.

SHARON AND JAMES MURPHY, INTRODUCTION:

James P. Danky

We are going to have our third presentation of the morning and the attentive ones will note, the early afternoon. The next two speakers are Sharon and James Murphy, who are both professors of journalism at the School of Journalism at Southern Illinois University at Carbondale. The Murphy's have both done their doctoral work at the University of Iowa. And they have done research in many areas in mass communications. During the 1970's Sharon and Jim lived in Milwaukee where Sharon taught at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee and Jim worked on the *Milwaukee Journal*. Last year Sharon and Jim co-authored a book entitled *Let My People Know: American Indian Journalism, 1828-1978* published by the University of Oklahoma Press. This morning the two of them will collaborate in giving us a capsule history of Native American journalism from the 19th century to date, focusing particularly on the Native press. Tomorrow afternoon Jim will be discussing Alaskan Native media. This afternoon Sharon will be talking about the role of women in Native American press. Due to our scheduling, or rather lack of it, the Murphy's are going to talk about a half an hour, but since they'll both be around this afternoon and tomorrow, I'm sure we'll have the opportunity to ask them any questions then that we don't have time for this morning.

INTRODUCTION:

James Murphy

In preparing for our presentation today, we face the task of compressing six to eight years of travel, research, study, and interviewing in American Indian journalism into a half hour. Obviously, wholesale compromises were necessary. We've had to simplify the presentation even beyond what is listed on the outline that you have on your conference programs. So essentially, Sharon will start and speak first about the backdrop to Native American journalism and address its early years, and then I will follow with a survey of American Indian journalism from after the Civil War to the present.

The previous numbered page in
the original document was blank

THE EARLY YEARS: INDIAN PUBLICATIONS, 1828 TO THE CIVIL WAR

Sharon Murphy

An opening disclaimer: we may teach journalism and we may both have been journalists with the Anglo press, but we do acknowledge some of the criticisms (or whatever we'll call the comments that were made earlier) about the Anglo press.

I think any discussion of Indian media must acknowledge that the mass media of the United States have largely followed a policy of not-so-benign neglect of native people in this country. The history of American media coverage of Indians is marked by a fair amount of cynicism about Indians; a prime manifestation is the stereotypical portrayal of Indians by all media. When we think of mistreatment, media mistreatment, we have images in our minds of Hollywood Indians, Hollywood westerns. The portrayal of savage Indians of the Old West is not limited to films of the 20th century. Long before film, print media did its job to encourage, or at least condone, savage treatment of Indians. So, for example, in 1871 Camp Grant, Arizona, the three English language newspapers, publishing in and around Tucson, aroused the white settlers and the rest of the country against the Indians of the region. The Weekly Arizonian recommended that the cavalry should receive the Apaches when they applied for peace, have them grouped together, and slaughtered "as though they were as many nests of rattle snakes." The papers actively supported recruitment of volunteer white and Papago mercenary Indians to raid the Apache settlement at Camp Grant. A week after one of the most inflammatory pieces, a hundred Apaches, mostly women and children, were slain in their wickiups.

As the United States prepared to celebrate the centennial of its freedom and independence, the Oglala Sioux and the Northern Cheyenne fought with little advanced warning, and without the superior weapons that were available to Colonel George Custer and his cavalry. The media accounts in the Eastern press, however, called the Indian defense of their homes and their families and the debacle created by George Custer, a slaughter of brave soldiers by Red Devils. Throughout the account of marauding and savage Indians dealing cruelly and inhumanly with the "gallant defenders" of the embankments thrown up by the cavalry, what image do we get? No acknowledgement was made of the fact that Custer's attack was unprovoked, part of the government's campaign to steal the territory from its original inhabitants. Nor was their discussion of the strategies employed by Crazy Horse, and Sitting Bull--called brilliant by tacticians even today. The tale of brave Custer and his renowned band was carried in newspapers from east to west. It strengthened fears people had of the savages. It also fed reader curiosity and, as somebody pointed out this morning, sold newspapers.

Press coverage of the Ghost Dance Movement treated earlier this morning, and of the subsequent hostilities in 1890 and 1891, again used sensational inflammatory words and images. As one Anglo writer himself put it, the

The previous numbered page in the original document was blank

press treatment "foreshadowed the yellow journalism that was soon to stampede the nation into a real war, but that was not to happen until the seeds of journalistic jingoism, sowed on the bleak prairie of South Dakota, had borne their first bitter fruit in an Indian massacre in which red men, not white, were the victims." And indeed, the newspaper coverage convinced frontiersmen that Red Cloud's Oglala Sioux were prepared to go on the warpath. Consequently, the federal government was pressed to send more troops into the South Dakota town. Never mind that those towns were eager for the business the troops would bring to the merchants. As soldiers began arriving and the Indians began fleeing, the press interpreted and trumpeted Indian flight as out-breaks and hostilities. Big city newspapers sent correspondents to cover the new Indian wars. Correspondents, understandably, were under pressure to send back exciting stories. So when Big Foot's band was massacred at Wounded Knee, as the Indians were being disarmed by the cavalry, the media ignored the story of people outnumbered five to one and fighting for their survival. Instead, the accounts were of innocent white settlers being rescued and protected from Indian treachery.

Eighty years later, a series of events in Indian country touched off the same kind of crisis-activated coverage that misinterpreted the ongoing story of Indian life and needs in this country. As one reporter on the scene in Wounded Knee, South Dakota, wrote, "Correspondents wrote Cowboy and Indian stories because we thought that's what the public wanted. The truth is buried in too many centuries," he said, "of lies, like fossils embedded in layers of shale." The Associated Press, the United Press International, Newsweek, Time, Washington Post, New York Times, all got caught up in something they did not understand. Some of the few publications that were able to interpret were the Indian publications, periodicals, newspapers--not terribly credible because they weren't terribly rich. They alone, however, mirrored efforts that were being made and attempted to interpret. In many ways, they mirrored efforts that have been made since the earliest years of the Indian Press. To those early years, we want to devote a few moments this morning.

One of the primary tasks of early Indian newspapers was very clearly educational: to promote among Indians a better chance for successful encounters with the world increasingly populated by Anglos. Editors seemed aware that it was only a matter of time before tribal lands would be surrendered and the people surrounded by Anglo society. The papers tried to fight surrender, and at the same time they tried to prepare readers for the inevitable collision of cultures. They offered news, information, and advertising. But more importantly they sounded the alarm about dangers to the Indian communities. Their early history includes some of the same patterns as those of early Anglo papers, and some of the same patterns that we might hear about in smaller Indian papers today--infrequent publication, high mortality rate, minimal staff, minimal resources. But many also had uniqueness in their bilingual, sometimes trilingual nature. They regularly printed in Choctaw, Cherokee, or Chickasaw, eventually in Creek as well as in English, some in Sioux, etc.

Early Indian publications usually were official organs of Indian tribal governments. Editors often shaped their editorial policy to best promote the interest of the tribes they served. The same editorial shaping operates today in many newspapers, sometimes causing difficulties for editors and tribal leaders. Editorial policies were stated explicitly in most newspapers. Press directories announced the paper's official affiliations and stances, but depending on the directories consulted today, a paper then might have been listed as Democrat, Republican, and Independent simultaneously. The politically outspoken papers often invited dispute and some controversy. Often this led to name-calling, to some libel suits, and, as has been seen in other frontier history, even some maiming and occasional murder. However, as one journalist in 1871 wrote, "Take the personalities out of our journalism, it would go into bankruptcy. Banish the words blackguard, liar and villain from our newspaper literature, and even the good and useful Horace Greeley would quit business in disgust." It was fun to be a journalist as well as very important work.

Indian journalists produced a number of magazines, about 20 starting publication before 1900. They were initiated or supported mainly by churches or schools. The first magazine, as well as the first periodical issued in Indian territory, was produced by the Cherokees. Magazines were published by religious groups, by colleges, by seminaries, by editors aiming at general audiences.

The first newspaper, the Cherokee Phoenix will be discussed in greater length tomorrow. I think just for some parameter-setting though, we need to acknowledge its birth, February 21, 1828, the same year Noah Webster's dictionary of the English language appeared. Cherokee Phoenix's name, I think, is very symbolic. It was a bilingual paper printed part in English, part in Cherokee. It grew out of a combination of political, educational, and religious needs. It was an uplifter; it was an educator; but it was also a unifier. It was to help fight removal with the white man's weapons, to unify opinion in the nation, to gain outside support for Indian rights and their homelands, because most certainly Anglo press would not be doing that. A year after its founding the name was changed and perhaps more accurately reflected its purpose. It was called Cherokee Phoenix and Indian's Advocate, and advocacy was to be one of its major roles in the troubled months ahead. However, it didn't last long and, to collapse this very brief mention of it, in 1834 in the end of May, it announced it would suspend publication. In one of the valedictory comments the editor, then Elijah Hicks, said, "To our Cherokee readers we say do not give up the ship. Although our enemies are numerous we are still in the land of the living, and the judge of all the earth will impart the means for the salvation of our suffering nation." The Cherokee Phoenix and Indian's Advocate did not resume publication. It was born at the time of hope and enlightenment. It ended in the period of tribal uncertainty, dissension, and unrest. But to respond to an idea prompted and promoted by Mr. Stately, it was important. It was seen as important at least by the rest of the world, if not by America, because the complete collection of the Cherokee Phoenix was found, by those who were interested enough, in the British

Museum in London, where at least someone respected this important publication.

Although the Cherokee nation was not able to establish another newspaper for nine more years following its removal, the forced marches and the death of the great proportion of its people, printing resumed almost immediately in the nation through the work of the American Board of Missions in the form of the Cherokee Almanac, which appeared in 1835. About this time printing in the Shawnee-Sioux language was begun on the Baptist mission press by a man named Jonathan Meeker who published a hymn book and then a monthly, the Siwinowe Kesibwe, or the Shawnee Sun. Other publications were to follow. Publications began again after the Cherokees, unchampioned, unprotected, forced to immigrate into new territory, reestablished themselves. In 1843, the Cherokee National Council established a newspaper called the Cherokee Advocate, which was to be aimed at benefitting Cherokees, at educating non-Indians. Its objectives were to diffuse important news among Cherokee people, advance their welfare, and defend their rights. Shortly after the Advocate was established, women began making their mark in Tahlequah's journalism world, and the discussion on the Cherokee Rosebud later today will more amplify that. Young men at the male seminary established a newspaper called Sequoyah Memorial, seven years after the women began their work. Sequoyah Memorial held as its motto, "Truth, Justice, Freedom of Speech, and Cherokee Improvement."

The Cherokees, however, didn't monopolize journalism. Others among the so-called civilized tribes were aware of the value of the printed word in the fight for survival among an increasingly Anglo-dominated world. The Choctaws who also had been forced from their homelands in Mississippi, published their first newspaper, Choctaw Telegraph, in 1848, just twenty years after the first Indian newspaper appeared. The newspaper was replaced by the Choctaw Intelligencer and was followed in existence by the Chickasaw Nation's newspaper, also called the Intelligencer, in 1854. A successor, the Chickasaw-Choctaw Herald, appeared in 1858 carrying the slogan "Onward and Upward." We see in the titles of many of these newspapers, in the slogans they used, and in much of the material they used, crusading, a great deal of hope, and a great deal of willingness to put themselves and their words on the line in fighting for survival and in fighting for some kind of not equal, but at least treatment. They attempted to put their information out in support of their work. To quote briefly from the Choctaw Intelligencer, the Chickasaws wanted their paper to be "what no paper heretofore established among the Indians has been: a record of the habit, customs, laws, and usages among the Indian tribe." They wanted the paper to be "devoted to science, literature, agriculture, education, and the advancement of the arts and manufacturing among the Chickasaws and other civilized tribes, as well as news of the day." Those high hopes and ideals were short-lived--short-lived, as Indian journalism was apparently halted abruptly in the 1860's. The outbreak of the Civil War forced Indians into a losing stance. Some of the wealthier tribes had been or were slave holders. Though their chiefs and leaders had urged a hands-off policy, common belief, fostered in the North, eager for land and other good things, was that the Indians were pro-South, that they were pro-confederation. This became a handy excuse for land-hungry whites who wished to steal what little lands and property had been left to Indians through their treaties. During the war years, Indian publications were suspended. After 1865 they would begin again as the South and the entire U.S. nation rebuilt itself. For a time though, the presses were quiet.

A SURVEY OF NATIVE AMERICAN JOURNALISM FROM THE CIVIL WAR TO THE PRESENT

James Murphy

We know now, however, that the Civil War was not the end of journalism in this country. Reconstruction in the post-Civil War South was a time for renewed journalistic activity among the tribes in that part of the country. The Cherokee Advocate resumed printing in 1870. Two years later, the Chocktaws resumed publishing with the establishment of the Vindicator. The paper was needed because, while white papers carried some columns in Choctaw for the convenience of their readers, their interests were largely alien to those of the Indians. Vindicator was then joined and/or succeeded by papers such as the Atoka Independent, the Caddo Free Press, the Choctaw News, Indian Champion, the Indian Citizen, Twin City Topics, the Cheyenne Arapahoe Transporter, and Indian Progress. The first daily newspaper in Indian country, the Indian Journal, ran as a daily for one week in October of 1876 during the Indian International Fair in Muskogee in Indian territory. The Osage Nation's weekly paper, the Osage Herald appeared in 1875. Near the end of the century, specifically in 1892, the Cherokee Nation experienced somewhat of a press hey day. Several weekly and daily newspapers began to flourish in Tahlequah. These papers, serving the capital city and circulating throughout the nation and far beyond it, included the Cherokee Advocate, which was the official government paper, the Tahlequah Telephone and Tahlequah Centennial, the Indian Arrow, and the Daily Capital City News. Still to come in Tahlequah were the Courier, the Daily Capital, the Daily Telephone, the latter printed only during the 1895 section of the Cherokee Legislature. This sort of journalistic liveliness however, was not to last. Just as yellow gold had led to land thievery and dispossession in the 1820's and 30's, so black gold now motivated further encroachment in the early 1900's. The Cherokee Advocate formally protested against oil leases. In a front-page open letter in 1901 from the principle chief, the paper called on the Secretary of the Interior to refuse the application of the Cherokee Oil and Gas Company for lease renewal. But the battle lines continued to be drawn. The Cherokee Nation, like other tribes, was divided as to how to meet its enemies. Such a division affected the Cherokee Advocate in terms of funds, political differences, and the need to meet the differences of a growing non-Indian readership as well as their Indian readership.

The Advocate's uncertain future intensified yet another concern. Use of the Cherokee language was dependent in great part upon the use of Sequoyah's syllabary. The fear rather generally realized in the decades to come was that Cherokee, as the printed language, would die if the papers were permanently suspended or otherwise stopped. Presses, therefore, kept busy printing in English and Cherokee both--messages and proclamations of the chiefs, newsletters from Washington, minutes of the annual meeting of the Cherokee Baptist Association, minutes of the Council meetings, the Cherokee 1880 census for instance, tribal political party platforms, and other national, regional and local material. The Cherokee Advocate, last holdout

The previous numbered page in the original document was blank

among the great frontier Indian papers, gradually declined. The final demise came in March, March 5, 1976, as did loss of Cherokee land, by order of U.S. Government. In December, 1911, J.S. Holden, editor of the Fort Gibson Post ERA, purchased the press and English type formerly used by the Advocate for $151. A few years earlier its value was estimated at $5000. The press, then sold as junk in 1911, is today held in honor near Tahlequah at the Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art in Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Demise of the Advocate, however, was not the end of journalism in Indian country. The papers that published during the first half of the current century continued to serve as crusaders and watchdogs. Their names told their roles: The Sentinel, the Outlook, the Signal. Some few lasted beyond the decades in which they were born. Most, however, were short-lived. But all acted as predecessors for the papers that are published today. All played a role in the emerging self-consciousness of Indian groups today. Other more militant publications came about during the same time. They included such publications as the Quarterly Journal of the Society of American Indians; its successor the American Indian Magazine; Wassaja, the crusading newspaper of Carlos Montezuma started in 1916; Tushkahomen, "An Independent and Indianesque Paper," as it was called, started in 1935 in Oklahoma; Talking Leaf in 1935, (the Oklahoma version); and other papers. Agencies, church groups, schools, prison groups and other special interest groups like business and law, sparked other publications. And today, the American Indian press has blossomed into a significant, diversified voice within the past 15 or 20 years. Publications of the 60's and 70's have included newspapers, publishing in at least two-thirds of the U.S. states, two national papers, Wassaja and Akwesasne Notes, scores of Indian high school and college publications, papers by prison culture groups, and several major scholarly special-interest magazines, as well as print and broadcast news services. Among newspapers and newsletters, the picture is flexible owing to the rapid change in development in Indian journalism. But the list includes a growing number of weeklys, bi-weeklys, monthlies, quarterly, and irregular publications. There are tribal, inter-tribal, regional and urban publications.

There is no way in an overview of this sort to do justice to the contemporary publishing scene. Perhaps the best one can say is that a great deal has happened within the past decade or two in Indian country in journalism. We identified about 400 active publications during the 1970's in the book we did. It seems to me, by way of a footnote to what is a very compressed overview and a look at the current scene, we need to hear more of the concerns, the hopes, and the tasks faced by editors like Tony and his many counterparts throughout Indian country. We also need to touch on one other aspect before concluding even a brief overview, because no such overview would be complete without a mention of the electronic media.

Native-oriented radio programming began as far back as the 1930's in Alaska. There was quite a bit done particularly in the Southwest during the 1950's. But it was mostly during the 70's, during the last decade, that we saw the first widespread use of the airways for Indian-oriented programming throughout Indian country. Much of this was published on white-owned or public broadcasting stations--the white-owned stations, particularly those in Indian country, whose audiences were largely Native American. There was some substantive programming, but it was always subject to the economic winds of change. Gradually, we began to see some Native ownership, and in this regard 1977, December 10 specifically, is a date to mark. It was the day that KMDX, in Parker, Arizona, went on the air, the first Native-owned commercial broadcasting station in the country. Since then we've seen several others. There are also several public stations that have been on the air, some of which are still on the air, and new ones coming on the air all the time. Navajo, Sioux, Southern Utes, New Mexico Pueblos, Chippewas, Makah, and in Alaska, the Inupiat and Yupik Eskimos all have had public radio broadcasting capability and still do. There's been some television work, especially in the southwest part of the country, increasing concern with, interest in, and activity in video; some work in film within the last few years, especially private or tribal film companies; and even now, tentative satellite usage, which was underway as recently as 1978.

One of the spinoffs of increased media activities of the past 15 years has been the development of cooperative efforts in the form of consortia and media associations with which most of you are familiar now. In terms of consortia, the Native American Public Consortium started in 1977 as a clearinghouse for Indian programming. In terms of media associations, several regional efforts grew during the 70's, one in the Southwest, one in the Northwest, one in the Great Lakes. Most recently, a Native media association has started in Alaska. The largest such association, of course, was the American Indian Press Association, which was active between 1970 and 1975. Richard La Course will be speaking about that later. I need only say right here that the story of the AIPA is a dramatic one, and its struggles were monumental. It brought together many people whose names read like a roster of the leaders of Indian communication in this country: Richard himself, Charles Trimble, Rose Robinson, Karl Woodstock, Harriet Sky, Susan Hargil, and many others with whom I'm sure you are familiar. Financial problems and IRS hassles finally got to the AIPA, but not before it had made a mark and had shown Indian editors from one side of this country to the other that they weren't alone, that they were part of a larger Indian voice.

What we've offered here is simply a once-over- lightly glimpse of a story that warrants a much closer, deeper look. The history of the Indian press is the history of an uphill fight to fill otherwise unmet communication needs of Indian people. That was brought out clearly in three presentations already today. Their needs were persistent, and so have been the Native media voices that have risen to meet them. Those voices have not always been polished. They have not always been successful. They have not always endured in their individual attempts. But then, in the aggregate they've continued, often as the only alternative to white ignorance, neglect and stereotype of Indian people. Thank you.

Selected Afterthoughts

Audience: Historically and even now, is there tension or conflict between the Christian press and the secular or traditional Indian press?

S. Murphy: There has been some. I don't know that anyone is really competent to compare or analyze it. You do hear, on the one hand, the expressions in the history books and in other works, that at least someone was publishing at a time when, for example, the tribes were getting back on their feet after the government granted them new lands. There were attempts, whether it was the Baptist mission press or whatever, to keep the language alive. So in that sense it was a plus. There have been accusations or comments about proselytizing and therefore, the control mechanism that a religious-oriented press could exercise upon the people using the media.

J. Murphy: We were aware of that problem.

La Course: I like your question. And the question disturbs people of the past and the present. The very first Indian editor in Indian country, Elias Boudinot, was a mixed-blood, half-white, half-Indian and a Christian. What bothers me about using the Cherokee Phoenix as a model is that the editor discriminated against members of his tribe and Tony hit exactly what it is: Indians who drink. He ran lists of names of Cherokee people who wound up in jail, people who were not church-goers. And there was a rough edge of discrimination within the tribe with the birth of the Native press.

J. Murphy: During our research work, we were aware of the tension and the problems and the proselytizing nature of most religious publications. In fact, we state in the text that the justification for our including religious publications, to the extent that we do, is because of their role in preserving or attempting to preserve language and culture, despite their goals. But we recognize the problems there.

Audience: And you agree that there is going to be a continuance?

J. Murphy: It is not over yet. Half the radio stations that are broadcasting to Native people in Alaska are religious-owned and that is a problem.

S. Murphy: One comment I'd like to make is on the exciting youth we see around us, the young editors and journalists in this room. All of you are enthusiastic, yet realistic about the problems, But the fact that you are involved and the fact that you are willing to stay in this fight, even though you know you are not going to get rich--you may stay out of bankruptcy, maybe--is important. And you aren't going to sleep very much, you aren't going to have a lot of time for entertainment, you may not even enhance your own reputation, by getting involved in the kinds of things that journalistic activities will involve you in. Yet the fact that you and the other people like you are willing to be involved does encourage us that we are not completely wrong in saying that there is something going on. If you keep being the fly under the blanket so that the horse is kept uncomfortable, if you continue to keep things less than completely comfortable, that doesn't create a great deal of difference, but at least it offers hope that things will not completely go down the New Right drain.

J. Murphy: Also, seeing that you're not alone is the primary benefit of a conference such as this and of the cooperative media efforts, the associations and so forth. It really serves a useful purpose. We have found in contacts with editors that they felt very isolated, remote from anybody else and that nobody else was in this fight with them. It was useful for us to be able to carry the word among different people in different areas that there are other people with the same concerns.

SHARON MURPHY, INTRODUCTION:

James P. Danky

The good news today is that we have incredible weather. I can take absolutely no credit for that. The other slight bit of bad news is that the heat is still on in this building.

This afternoon, Sharon Murphy, who you heard this morning, is going to talk about a field in which she is currently engaged in research, which is minority women's journalism. Later this month, Sharon will be giving a presentation at a conference on women's history in St. Paul. For this afternoon's program, Sharon will give her paper and then we'll hear from two different current women editors of Native American publications. Sharon.

The previous numbered page in the original document was blank.

WOMEN IN NATIVE AMERICAN JOURNALISM

Sharon Murphy

As I alluded to earlier, American journalism, from its earliest days, has included women doing significant things from printing, to editing, to writing, to typesetting, to publishing, to management. Indeed, the first printing press in the American colonies, which was arranged for by the Reverend Joseph Glover, was managed by his widow, Elizabeth, who survived the boat passage from London to Boston, though her husband did not. In fact, Anglo widows figure prominently in several important American pioneer newspaper operations. For example, when her husband Louis died in 1738, Elizabeth Timothy assumed publication of the South Carolina Gazette without missing an issue, despite the fact that, as she told her readers, she had six small children and another hourly expected. She was thus the first in a long line of American women newspaper publishers and editors, and the forerunner of thousands of women who covered, and today cover local news, national and international events, poverty, corruption, injustice and the accomplishments of the great and the commonplace.

Very often, the accomplishments of pioneering women journalists have been overshadowed or simply left out in histories of journalism. There are those of us who have been doing research on women and minorities for a long time, who at least have the suspicion that part of this neglect or exclusion might have something to do with the fact that the historians of journalism in this country have been, almost without exception, Anglo males. And it may be, therefore, that the contributions of women, and particularly of non-white women, have been pretty hard for the writers to accept as important. Very often, too, women have had to press very hard for the chance to even work as a journalist. There was exclusion, partiality, lack of opportunity, unfair working conditions, etc., facing most of the women who attempted to break into journalism. Men who should have been colleagues often refused to acknowledge and to use the talent pool which women journalists represented. So the historians, for example, have chosen or have been able to ignore the contributions of a woman like Anna Zanger, the wife of a man named John Peter Zanger, who became famous in fighting for press freedom in 1735. Interesting or not, and it may be apocryphal or not, the New York Weekly Journal continued to publish while John Peter Zanger was in jail. Someone ran the presses, and as far as we can tell it was his wife, Anna. In the 1770's, a woman named Mary Catherine Goddard picked up quite often where her irascible and somewhat irresponsible brother left off. He would start a newspaper in Philadelphia and trot off to another place and start another one. Somehow, Mary Catherine was able to pick up and carry on and became the mainstay in her brother's newspaper operations. Books are written about him; they are not written about her. She was also Baltimore's first postmaster and surprisingly, lost that spot after the war was resolved and that spot became lucrative. She lost it to a 50-year-old political appointee, a male who died after less than a year in office. The post had been taken from her because it required too much travel and she was

The previous numbered page in the original document was blank.

really not quite strong enough to sustain all this travel. She lived for 30 more years doing various kinds of things. In 1842 a woman named Cornelia Walter assumed editorship of the Boston Transcript with no little success. Those are just three examples of a long line of women who somehow survived their husbands, brothers, sons, for a goodly number of years and kept those newspapers in operation, kept them in the public eye, but somehow fell through the cracks when the histories were being written.

The same kind of exclusion from newspaper history accorded Anglo women, has been the case vis-a-vis minority women: Indians, Chicanas, Black women, etc. But that is, as I see it, as much because, as we pointed out this morning, all of the non-Anglo media are pretty well excluded from the histories. And, of course, if we exclude white women, we are definitely going to exclude non-white women. Indian women, however, were not excluded from the journalism world. As I pointed out earlier, shortly after the Cherokee Advocate was established in 1844, Indian women began making their mark. When it was first established in 1848, the Cherokee Rosebud, the magazine of the female seminary, was in some ways a record maker or a benchmark. It began involving young women in the process of formal communication, of regular communication. It was not of the form that newspapers are in today, that magazines are in today. Looking at some of those early editions in the library at Tahlequah is a very treasured experience. Those early issues were hand written. They contained the materials that were of relevance to, and of interest to those boarding school pupils, those young women of the Cherokee Nation. Articles carried such titles as "A Visit to the Fortune Teller," "The Love of Gain," "Temper," "The Grave on the Hill," "The Dress is not the Man," "A Visit to My Old Home," "The Last Eve of 1856." They were young women, young potential journalists putting on paper their thoughts, their ideas, etc. Most authors signed their Cherokee names or used initials, although in the listing of hometowns the Christian names were used.

There is little indication in the Rosebud, or as it was later named The Wreath of Cherokee Rosebuds, of the turbulence around the authors' country. They wrote of meetings, of visits and of how Christmas holidays were spent. They put on paper their sentiments about departing teachers. They did reprints from exchange papers, mostly from other female boarding schools. They carried news of the college, rosters, general news of the day. But the valedictory for the class of 1857 gives some hint that they weren't completely unaware of the impending problems for their nation. The article closes "How close beside each other in this world of ours, do joy and sorrow lie. So close indeed that often some event bears both upon its weight." True as their prophetic words proved to be, the beginnings these young women shared have been reflected throughout journalism's history.

I will skip many years right now and move to the past few decades, where we have seen American Indian women accepting the challenge to Indian journalism and becoming important movers and shakers. The roster of the founding and sustaining members of the American Indian Press Association alluded to this morning includes the names of several of these heroic and moving and inspirational women. Rose Robinson, a Hopi from Arizona, served as executive secretary of AIPA. She inspired and inspires many young Indian journalists with her professionalism and her abiding faith in the Indian press. A comment quoted in Medium Rare, which was AIPA's newsletter, indicates this faith. Rose Robinson wrote "The world of the Indian press is fermenting and developed now. And it is very exciting. I see a professionalism is emerging. To my mind Indian journalism is the most exciting field in Indian affairs today, because we are right in the middle of everything that is going on, and now Indians are beginning to write their own contemporary Indian history." In another setting, speaking to the Midwest Indian Journalist Conference in Eau Claire, Wisconsin in 1981, she contrasted the white press with the Indian press, giving some good examples of perhaps how it ought to be, noting the lack of discrimination against women in Indian journalism. She said, "In Indian media there is a lot of comaraderie. You do not see much jealousy. To be a journalist you must be perceptive to people and what's happening." Robinson, who resigned from a Washington, D.C.-based government job to accept the AIPA's executive directorship from 1973-1975 was in many ways a stalwart. She was the one who drafted the policy statement on advocacy journalism and Indian crises in answer to frequent queries about the American Indian Press Association's position on controversial and volatile issues. The statement read in part, "The AIPA, as a matter of journalistic policy, does not take sides on political issues, particularly when those issues are at the local tribal, or inter-tribal level. Our policy of political noninvolvement on local tribal politics should insure that no political adversaries will benefit from their association with AIPA." Then she says:

> Our policy of journalistic involvement however, is total. To provide to our readership balanced, complete and accurate reportage of all sides and disputes in situations of conflict. Idealogical bias on the part of the working Indian reporter we believe, will hinder rather than aid in meeting the information needs of a broad Indian readership, in the full perspective which troubling conflict situations deserve. Our sole purpose for existence is to improve the channels and the content of communication among Indian people and to provide news of events that vitally affect Indian lives.

Rose Robinson, who is now editor of Exchange, a journal of the Phelps-Stokes fund in Washington, D.C., is a sought-after speaker and a very significant role model for aspiring young journalists, male and female. Other individuals figure prominently in American Indian Press Association and its work. They include Harriet Sky, then editor of the United Tribes News, Bismarck, North Dakota. In her capacity as news editor of AIPA, she took to the airwaves for several years in a Sunday afternoon talk show called "Indian Country" for television station KRFY-TV in Bismark. United Tribes News, which she edited, concentrated both on community news and events and on major issues and problems, and her spirit of involvement led to regular work with rehabilitation and programs serving her readership area.

Another woman whose work as editor, historian, and educator is recognized across the country is Jeannette Henry, an eastern Cherokee. Editor of the Indian Historian Press and editor with her husband, Rupert Costo of Wassaja, Indian Historian, she has seen the press under her leadership publish many books, produce a magazine for young people called the Wewish Tree, and monitor textbooks directed at America's young people. She expressed her commitment to journalism in a 1981 statement: "What lies in the future for Indian journalists one dares not predict, but we at Wassaja, whose masthead proclaims 'Let the People Know,' truly believe that before a century has ended the Indian people will have created their own system of communications in both print and broadcast media, bringing together the best of two worlds. We still believe what the Cherokee Phoenix so proudly announced, that the phoenix will rise again from the ashes of a social conflagration, set by the European invaders. Then we can let the people know." Wassaja, her newspaper, was recognized in 1974 for excellence in investigative reporting when it received the Marie Potts Award for excellence in Indian journalism.

This award itself honors another woman, whose work as a journalist was honored by the state of California when the entire second floor of the State Office Building Number 2 was dedicated in her honor. Marie Potts was a member of the Maidu Indian Tribe of California. She was founder of Smoke Signals, then one of the oldest Indian newspapers in the country. She died in Susanville, California on June 23, 1978, after having established Smoke Signals in 1947 in her home and almost single-handedly having published it for 30 years, informing California Indians of issues and events affecting them and promoting cooperation. Smoke Signals' motto was "In Unity there is Strength." Again, hearkening back to many of the efforts made by the earlier newspapers, it was not a money maker, it was not an easy task. It was a task for a guardian, for a sentinel, for a watcher, for a fighter.

And one could speak of Betty Blue whose work with Ni Ma Mi Kwa Zoo Min of the Cass Lake, Minnesota, Chippewa Tribe, has helped to encourage many young men and women into journalism careers and also to get other neighboring tribal papers started. One could call attention to the women of Tsistsistas Press, begun in 1976 for the Northern Cheyenne tribal council in Lame Deer, Montana, whose work included not only writing, but such activist efforts as chartering a bus trip to strip mining sites in Navajo country so that readers and community members could actually see the potential impact of such mining on their tribal lands. Writing about the danger was not enough, and they were wise enough to recognize that fact. These same young women sponsored workshops in photography and film processing for interested tribal members, because their aim was to give both skill and training to people interested in participating in the work of their newspaper. One might look at the work of Mary Polanco, who in 1961 founded the Jicarilla Chieftain, of Dulce, New Mexico, worked for it for 8 years, and returned in 1977 to pick up where she had left off. Active in AIPA, she saw recruitment of young people into journalism as a goal of her efforts. She called for increased investigative journalism by Indians for Indians.

One might go on and on citing many more women whose work has been the mainstay of their newspapers. Some very cursory statistics may tell us something else about the roles they played and play now. From 410 newspapers in 34 states and Canada identified by the Historical Society of Wisconsin, 241 women are listed as working or having worked as editors of Indian newspapers. Twenty-one of those names of women appear on listings for the Haskell Institute, a key training ground for young Indian leaders. What is needed is more systematic documentation of the lives and the contribution of individual Indian women journalists. The story of journalism in Indian country is complex and diverse, and much of that story is in the individual struggles and triumphs of the noble women who have kept the presses rolling. There is a need to identify these women, to examine their work, to get their stories down if they are still living. One of projects that I am currently involved in is an attempt to document, through oral history, the works of minority women journalists, the works of the pioneers--to document them before, like Marie Potts they die, and much of their story dies with them. It seems important that their stories be documented, not because they made lots of money, not because they ran major journalism empires, but because they did the kind of work that made communication and information available. They were the ones who did indeed--through monthly, bi-monthly, mimeograph or much more formally published newspapers--let their people know.

JOAN WILLOW, INTRODUCTION:

James P. Danky

And our first woman editor is Joan Willow. Joan is from the Wind River Journal, the publication that she edits for her reservation. I would also like to recognize Rhonda Hedley who is in the back the room, and who is the photographer on the paper. They both came all the way from Wyoming to talk about their publication.

The previous numbered page in the original document was blank

WIND RIVER JOURNAL

Joan Willow

My name is Joan Willow and I am editor of the Wind River Journal. Jim already introduced Rhonda Hedley; she's the reporter for our paper. The Wind River Reservation is the home for two tribes: the Shoshone and the Arapahoe. Wind River is located in Central Wyoming and is the tenth-largest reservation in the United States. First of all, I will begin with the history of the paper. The first issue appeared in early 1967 and was called the American Indian News. The paper was typewritten and it was an eight-by-ten regular paper. It was three columns wide, and had half-tone pictures, and carried mostly local news. The American Indian News was printed in the same format until 1972, when it went to legal size. It had only line drawings, no photos, and it had basically the same news coverage. American Indian News was a non-profit organization supported by the tribes. The staff went through changes throughout the year, and then in 1974 the American Indian News closed down. That was the end of that paper.

In 1976 a couple of the reservation, Ken and Bobbie Potter, took on the task of financing a new reservation newspaper. They felt a paper was necessary due to the fact there was no Indian newspaper, and the news that was covered by the off-reservation newspapers covered only the bad-news Indians. They did not have good news about Indians. They had voluntary staff, a columnist, and one part-time editor. It was called the Wind River Press. This was a great source of information for tribal people. Everybody looked forward to the Wind River Press. Financial problems and lack of help forced the closing of the paper in the Spring of 1977. There was a six-month interval with no tribal newsletter.

The next attempt at a tribal newspaper, was in the fall of 1977. This is still being printed every Friday morning, and is called the Wind River Journal. The editor who started the Wind River Journal in 1978 was a pretty good editor, but he said he was going to the top. So now he's a tribal councilman, and a lot of people know him. The next editor started as a reporter, and she went on to become the editor. And there was a janitor who worked in our office (we had about eleven people working on the staff, but they all quit) who ended up helping us as a reporter. Then he got the job as editor. In 1978, good news came when Gulf Oil Company donated a check of $4898. It was paid to the tribes to provide support for a newsletter to be published for the reservation community. The contribution was part of Gulf's nationwide support for Indian programs and was given to assist tribal media development. With this generous gift the staff and tribal councils decided to buy a copywriter junior, which is a copy typesetter and is still in use today. We also bought a processor and a waxer at the same time. Nobody knew how to use the typesetter; it was just sitting there. We didn't have anyone to operate it so we had some people come in from a company, and they didn't know how to work it. So I went to school at CP where they taught typesetting. I had to figure the machine out myself, and I did, We still use it today.

The previous numbered page in the original document was blank.

The next thing I want to talk about is the mechanics of putting our paper out. Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday are used for news gathering, research, writing stories, and taking photographs for deadline, which is noon Wednesday. Then on Wednesdays we develop our pictures. After we develop all of the pictures that we are going to use for that week, we take it to a town that's about 30 miles away, where they half-tone them. The next day we go back down and pick them up. Next we lay out our paper, which usually takes us until 8 o'clock in the evening. When we finish our layout, we have to take it back down to that same town where it's printed in the morning. We go back on Friday morning to pick it up. We bring it back, and distribute it all over the reservation. That's a lot of traveling for us. We have to take our pictures down, pick them up, and then take our layout down, and pick that up and bring that back. That takes a lot of our time, and a lot of money, because we do not have the machinery at the office,and have to pay someone else to do it. On Friday afternoons we mail our paper out. We have to fold it, staple it, put a stamp on it, and sort it out. That takes a lot of time.

The future of our paper is in question right now because were being paid by CETA, and we can only work 78 weeks, maximum. After that we get laid off. Our secretary has already been laid off so we are next in line. I'm supposed to be laid off in July. We asked the tribes if they could help us by taking over our salaries, but they are somewhat negative. So right now we're in the process of writing a proposal to present to the tribe again to ask them if they can help us with our funding. We raised our price from twenty-five cents to forty cents. Then we have to get more advertisements. We hope we'll receive funding so we can keep printing our paper. If you want, there are some copies in the back on the table.

Selected Afterthoughts

Audience: How do the men feel about your role as editor, being the voice of the tribes, so to speak?

Willow: Usually the men are at the top, for instance, councilmen, the policemen, and the BIA superintendent. When an accident occurs, we have to go see them about it, and you know that they would probably rather talk to a man than a woman. It is kind of hard, but we keep trying anyway. Once I went to this man who is a criminal investigator for the tribes about a story. He said that we would have to go through the BIA superintendent before they gave out information, and so I did that. There is a reporter who is a man, and when he went to ask him, the investigator did not say that, he just gave him all the information he needed.

Audience: How about your stance--does being a woman editor affect your attempts to receive funds from the tribes?

Willow: That is probably one of the factors. But the councilman says he understands because he went through what we are going through. He knows that we have to stay late and work to get our news.

Danky: You mentioned that you are employed through CETA, and that's very common with other Native American papers. Is that an element for the other people who were hired for jobs before you and your staff now--are they also CETA--so that there would be a complete turnover in staff every 18 months?

Willow: Yes. When we did ask the tribes for help, they said that the money our office makes could pay for our part-time help. But the person who was laid off got another job right away. The future right now isn't looking too good. That's how come she took the other job.

Audience: What is your distribution like? Do you distribute to towns surrounding you?

Willow: Yes. Last week we printed 1,513 papers and many go to our subscribers, too.

Audience: How many subscribers do you have?

Willow: We have 229 subscribers here and in Canada.

LAURIE FISH, INTRODUCTION:

James P. Danky

Our next speaker will be Laurie Fish who is the current editor of Menominee Tribal News from Keshena, Wisconsin. Laurie is accompanied by Michael Chapman who was previously associated with the paper. Laurie.

The previous numbered page in
the original document was blank

MENOMINEE TRIBAL NEWS

Laurie Fish

I am the present editor of the Menominee Tribal News. I am also a high school graduate from Intermountain Indian High School, Brigham City, Utah, and an account clerk graduate of NCTI in Antigo. I have a little information about the history of the Menominee Tribal News. If there are any further questions about the history of the paper, they can be referred to Mike Chapman. He did the first proposal to get a grant for the Tribal News.

In 1976, the first director and staff of the Tribal News were Mr. Al Fowler and Deborah Shames. Mr. Fowler negotiated with the BIA and worked out a way to receive funding for the newspaper. Thus, the first grant of approximately $19,000 was issued to the Menominee Indians. It provided for the printing, staff, and expenses for about two months, and then a second grant was issued. At that time the paper had an editor and two reporters on staff. The main purpose of receiving the grant and the main purpose of the Menominee Tribal News at that time was to inform all Menominee tribal members of the activities of the Menominee Restoration Committee. The Menominee Restoration Committee was the administrative body or business council whose duties were to restore the tribe back to reservation status by reopening tribal enrollment, to place tribal lands and assets into federal trust status, to contract federal grants, to improve the general economy, and to draft a new constitution and bylaws for the Menominee people. In order to act on any of that business, at least 30% of all Menominee tribal members had to vote. And the Menominee Tribal News was the most effective way to disseminate the information and to urge all Menominee tribal members to vote. Each eligible voter received an issue of the Menominee Tribal News. The Tribal News was not supposed to be a political publication, but the restoration process made it quite political. When, legislative elections were held later, results had to be open to the public, which also was a main purpose the BIA funds granted to the Menominee Indians. With the elections running for two years or more, another grant was contracted and the Menominee Tribal News served its purpose until we had a Menominee Tribal Legislature. In 1979 the Menominee Tribal News was temporarily suspended. There were no funds available to pay the staff or any of its expenses, which resulted in four months of no publication. The Tribal News readers realized how important the newspaper was to them, and it was brought to the attention of the Tribe. The Tribe agreed to pay half of the costs, with the remaining costs coming from the self-determination fund. The paper has been printed since then, partially with self-determination funds and partially with tribal funds. Since the last editor had already left, I was made the new editor, and I am a CETA participant. The previous editor was James LaRock, who had a tremendous amount of input into the Tribal News. He had to start it up after it had been out of publication for four months. He made several changes, but the most noticeable was that he changed it from a political newspaper to a community publication. He emphasized the Menominee Indian school district news, and the recreational activities on the reservation.

The previous numbered page in the original document was blank.

The Tribal News received many compliments as a result, and sales seemed to go up, but not very much. The people really enjoyed picking up the Tribal News, probably because there are always a lot of pictures of people and events on the reservation. Parents and grandparents really enjoy seeing somebody from their family. The only contact most subscribers have with the tribe is through the Menominee Tribal News which is why we emphasize pictures and people. We are trying to develop a closer contact among all tribal members. In 1981, the main goal of the Menominee Tribal News was to become self-sustaining by October 1st. Although the paper was good and very informational, the goal was almost defeated. When I first started in March, 1981, James was the editor. Neither he nor any of the prior editors ever pushed for sales and advertising. They ran on the grant and there was no need to push for income.

When I first started working, I wrote small articles about athletic banquets, for instance, and other minor activities. I was not too positive about my writing, but James helped me along. He used a lot of slang words in his articles, so there was quite a difference in style. James did most of the work. He let me do a couple of pages of the layout, and he showed me how to work the camera. I did most of the secretarial work, answered his phone, and waited for him to come back. After he left the program I immediately assumed all of his responsibilities. But I did not really know everything that it took to publish a newspaper, and I was totally lost at first. I had deadlines to meet, and he did write 'deadline' on the calendar, but I did not know which deadline it was. People called in asking for this and that, and I would tell them, "I will call you back in a couple of days, when I find out." I realized that I was a coordinator between the tribal programs and the community, with the articles that went into the newspaper. By the time I succeeded in getting the first two issues out, I had learned the process of publishing the Tribal News.

The printing is done in Clintonville. Everything has to be down there a week before the paper is actually printed. We do have a darkroom, but it is not in operation right now. I still have not learned that yet. That is next on my list. The film developing is done in Shawano which is seven miles away, and there are deadlines for that as well, because I have to have the pictures back before we can turn our paper in for printing. When the rough draft comes back I have to proofread it, because I am the only person on the staff. It was fairly easy learning everything, and after a couple of months I caught on to everything. But, the most difficult thing was briefing legislature minutes which can have 50 pages to it. I could not edit them so that the ideas came across better, and I could not change a lot of things, because almost all of what goes into the minutes are legal documents.

I also had to keep track of the money that came in, keep the receipts, and determine the income I was getting, which was at that time, very, very low. When I looked at the budget, I realized that the Tribal News just spent, there was no money coming in to cover any of our expenses. By that time, I knew how to process the paper, what deadlines I had to meet, and when I would have time to do something else. So, I looked at our subscription list. At the time I had about 300 subscribers. However, we had about 500 cards in our index files that had expired during the four month suspension of publication. I thought these people might have thought that the paper was no longer being published. So I sat down and wrote a letter in which I described our paper and asked all these people to renew their subscriptions. The results were really good. Subscriptions are up to between 400 and 450 now, but that includes maybe about 25 complimentary copies that I send out.

Advertising income was also very low. I tried writing letters again, but there was hardly any response. So, I took out a couple days out of the month to visit businesses in person. I first tried on the reservation, but there are very few businesses on the reservation. They did agree to advertise, but that was not enough to cover the expenses of the Tribal News. So, I went to Shawano which is seven miles away, and most of the people that I asked to advertise I knew personally, because I do business with them. They were more than happy to advertise in the Tribal News. I told them that they would not have to sign a contract, that they had to have their ad in for a full year and pay us that amount of money, and that they could quit any time they wanted to. I think they liked that idea.

Before I took over the Tribal News, sales were not really accounted for. Offices would put a box or a can on somebody's desk where you could put your 35 cents, and then take your paper. In the stores, it was strictly cash over the counter. Because the paper used to be free to all enrolled Menominees, I think that some people thought that it was still free and they just took a paper. That may be one of the reasons our income was never very good. So, I told the store managers and other people who distribute the paper that they would be liable for all of the papers that I left with them. They would issue me a check a month later, if all of them were gone, but if they could return ten of them, they would just subtract ten papers from the total, and pay for what they had sold. (They make 5 cents on every paper that they sell.) sales went up as a result, and I started making an income. It looked pretty good. At least, it was rising.

Another expense that was very high was mailing costs. When James was still the editor I suggested that we should have our paper mailed at bulk rate. He did not go back to bulk rate, and had 300 papers going out first class, which was an expense over $150 a month. A month ago, I finally changed it to bulk rate, and I think I am down to $38 a month. That is all I pay. So that was quite a good change that I am glad I made.

Another problem that I had involved political advertising. At first I accepted all ads and articles, because the paper needed the income. But that started a controversy. With the elections going on, people wanted to put articles in our newspaper that attacked a committee, or a person, but I would not print them. I would take them to the chairperson, or someone higher than me. I always went to them because I did not want the blame, although I could accept any article I wanted to. There was not really anybody there to say, "Do not print this, do not print that." I had to use my own judgment if I felt that an ad was attacking somebody. I try to keep the paper non-political and community oriented. It was hard, at first, to make this clear to people. Once I even rejected an article submitted by my boss. But the Tribal News is for the Menominee people, and everybody thinks that it is their paper, they can put anything in there they want. And I do have a right to have anything in there they want. But, as for attacking a person or a committee, I do not print that type of thing even if they agree to pay for it. I should really have a written policy about advertisements and articles of opinion, but I do not. It has not been too much of a problem, but it does happen.

As for the future of the Tribal News, we do have darkroom equipment for developing film, and if it was used, I would cut down on expenses. Everything is there, but there would have to be somebody who knew how to do it, as I do not know how. We do not have our own printing machines, but the high school that has just been built on the reservation will have a darkroom for developing photographs, and also printing equipment. I do not know, yet, if they will be producing a newspaper similar to the Tribal News, or if it is going to be the mimeographed paper, but I plan to find out about it. Perhaps we will be able to cooperate on news articles or exchange them, but there should be a way that we can work together to help one another print a paper.

To do a brief overview on my presentation, if we look back at the first issues of the Tribal News, the articles were quite political and it was dependent on grants. It was also very informational and covered various activities, which shows that they did have a good size staff. Now the Menominee Tribal News is a community paper, and it is almost self-sustaining and has only one staff person. I have to have the Tribal News on a basis where it is paying for its expenses by October 1, 1982. They gave us another year to try it and so far it looks really good. I got the income up. The expenses of it are about $1100 and I think I bring in $1050, sometimes $1100 or $1200. So it does look quite good.

Selected Afterthoughts

Audience: In your role as middleman between tribal programs and the community, are you comfortable? And how do you get around the barriers?

Fish: Well, the way the paper is set up the second page usually has the Tribal minutes; the next page has high school news; the following page has UW-EX news. Whatever goes in there, I read first, but it is not a barrier to me because it is bringing their information out to the public.

Audience: Are you basically saying that hard news does not sell and soft news does?

Fish: No, that is not exactly what I was saying. Right now the way the paper is edited, it is very community-oriented. There are so many committees that you can bring your grievances to, but I do consider printing the action taken. But anything before the decision, I do not print, unless it is approved by someone higher than myself. I leave it at that, because I am the only person, and am responsible for everything that goes in the paper.

Audience: Are you saying that you if had a major issue that was controversial you may not print it, even though it was an important issue?

Fish: No, but before I would print it I would approve the article with both sides. If they said, "Okay, go ahead and print it," I would, even if it was a dispute between both of them.

Audience: Can you give me an example of what you are talking about with regard to disputes, and what you do when you feel you have a lot of prejudicial information to print?

Chapman: I think a lot of the hard news is covered in the Shawano Evening Leader, which is the newspaper in the neighboring town, in a very negative fashion. The Tribal News is a forum for community-based things and positive efforts on behalf of the tribe.

Audience: Is it the case that the Menomonee Tribal News is edited with the understanding that the readers are already looking at the Shawano paper?

Chapman: The Menominee Tribal News comes from a Menominee perspective, and the Shawano Evening Leader certainly does not. The Evening Leader is a daily paper and is basically accessible in all four communities on the reservation and there is a balance there, with the Tribal News, even though it only comes out once a month.

S. Murphy: At the time of the restoration controversy there was a small paper that was established called Drums. Wasn't that established mainly to carry one side of the dispute?

Chapman: Drums, I don't think, was necessarily a newspaper as such. It was more of a campaign-informational letter for those people who were supporting that effort and that particular political faction on the reservation. It did not go out to all the tribal members.

Audience: Could the Menominee Tribal News now carry the equivalent of the opposite side that Drums carried?

Chapman: Periodically, when there are elections; though it has not been that way for quite some time in the last three or four years.

Audience: There are problems that occur in balancing out hard news and soft news, but at the same time, there has to be a way that hard news can come out. Whether it is good or bad news it should be published so people have the ability to decide for themselves.

Fish: Usually opinions of people are referred to the committees. Committees bring it up at the legislature meetings and everything at the meeting is printed, so it does come out in the legislature minutes.

Audience: But many on the political left feel that working through the system is not effective. There has to be a balance, and I am just not hearing it.

Chapman: That was one of the big disputes when the paper was originally formulated. Right now the paper is reliant upon the tribal government, and indeed, if it is going to become self-sustaining, the staff can enter more into the political realm. But until it is independent of the tribal government, you cannot be critical of that program that supports you. There are letters to the editor, so that option does exist.

Audience: What do you do, Tony?

Stately: That is a big problem for me too, being a part of a program within the Indian Center. When I know that someone is doing something that they probably should not be doing and I criticize the center, I usually get heat from the board. My feeling is that if people writing in to the paper and people that I use as reporters, write something about the Indian Center or anything affiliated with the Indian Center that is not totally positive, it should be able to go in the paper. The paper is a program of the Center, yes, but it is also separate. You are right, it does suppress it, because if anyone writes something for the paper and I print it, I am liable for it too, not only the author. You have to take that into account. You are responsible for it. And I am sure the tribal government in your case is liable for anything that goes into the paper also.

Fish: I have to use my own judgement, but I have be careful that I am not going against any of the rules and regulations for the Tribal News.

Audience: What a newspaper should do and what a small newspaper like yours can do are maybe two different things.

Fish: We could do more if we did have larger staff. There would be more reporting done and coverage of certain things. Right now it is just me, and I am trying to keep it a community-type paper instead of using it for a political tool or for publishing opinion.

Audience: Small community papers are so fragile.

Fish: Outside papers publish every day. The Shawano Evening Leader takes up all of the negative things that happen on the reservation, so I try to keep the Tribal News an enjoyable newspaper for everybody who picks it up. It comes out once a month, and it is for the Menominee people. It shows the people what has been going on all around the reservation.

Demain: Another thing that you ought to keep in mind is that you do not have large communities. You have 3,000 people living on Menominee reservations. You have 2000 living at Lac Courte Oreilles and basically I know the majority of the people up there either by face or by name. I have written articles with both perspectives during the middle of some conflicts and managed to get both sides mad at me because each claimed I gave the other side too much time. It is a losing battle no matter what you try to do.

Fish: But those kind of issues are usually referred to one of the committees. For instance, if it had anything to do with a land dispute it would go to the land-use committee. From there it would go to the legislature, and it does get published after it goes to legislature. That is the way I work. I control it because I do not want people to start a big thing. It can start very easily in a small community like that, and you know everybody is going to read it and see it.

Danky: Within the next six months, both you and Joan face a precarious future. You have to be making money or break even by October, and Joan's CETA money runs out. You both convinced me that the publication is important for the Tribe. Can you imagine them doing without one at all? How was it for you during those four months when there was not a publication, and what do you think would be some of the consequences if they did not continue to fund publications like yours?

Fish: That would be something in the past history and Mike worked for the newspaper then and I think he could answer that question better than I could.

Chapman: Well, within the last decade the Menominees certainly encountered a lot of political fiascos. The newspaper offered a lot of exchange in terms of monitoring the positive things that were going on in the community. There were people making contributions to the community and it developed very nicely. Prior to that, there was not that flow of information and you were reliant upon the Drums newsletter which did not go to a lot of folks and which was very lopsided and very political. If the Tribal News does not exist, and there is certainly that potential, then you are only going to get bits of information intermittently that are extremely biased--one particular political faction. And you certainly cannot rely upon the Shawano Evening Leader to give you a positive perspective on things.

Audience: Is it a fallacy to say that you will ever have a free press?

Fish: Perhaps after the tribal news is on its own, able to be self-sustaining and pay for everything that goes in it. Thank you.

PAUL DEMAIN, INTRODUCTION:

James P. Danky

Our next speaker is Paul Demain. Paul's been the editor of Lac Courte Oreilles Journal since its founding in 1978. There's a copy of LCO in your packets and the work of some of the other publications. Paul's also a correspondent for Nations which is a very handsome 4 color periodical that just came out last year or so, and Paul is also a founder of the Great Lakes Indian News Bureau. Education and speaking are both familiar topics to Paul because he has been a speaker at other conferences and workshops including a workshop in the American Indian Press at University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire. Paul will be talking about his own publication, about the news bureau, and as it says in your outline, the business of Indian country news. Paul.

The previous numbered page in
the original document was blank

THE BUSINESS OF INDIAN COUNTRY NEWS

Paul Demain

The first thing that I would like to run through is the history of the LCO Journal. I have been there since August 14, 1977. I was not there for the publication of the first copy, the one that was done in early August 1977. That was when Dave Gonzalas was editor and he did not have a lot of typesetting equipment It has some photos, but it is only 4 pages. They ran it on their own press, a little multi-press that printed up to 1117. The Tribe bought it with the idea of establishing an internal printing business and publishing their own newspaper, because they were having a lot of conflicts with people in town. They did not want to take the printing to town; they did not even want to take any of their business to town. They took all of their funds out of the banks and put them in another bank someplace else. They had previously had a publication called Anishinabe-Aki which meant "Indian land," which was more a less a mimeographed sheet. You could find out who ran in the ditch, who had the flat tire and who passed out at the bar and stuff like that but, in terms of hard core news, it lacked quite a bit.

They recruited me out of the University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire where I was studying journalism. The first issue that I published was not a lot more substantial than the previous issue. Again, it was only a couple of pages, but we tried doing a few new things. We got one more issue out in 1977. The next issue came out in March of 1978. It was called the LCO Journal American which was the name that the chairman of the tribe had picked out when the paper first started. I dropped American from the title because a lot of tribal members were objecting to it. That was the first time I was fired, basically. The chairman came in and said, "Why did you do that? You did not take it to council." I said, "I thought I was editor, and I had some decision-making power to do a few things around here. Tribal members were complaining about the American. We are supposed to be an Indian publication. So we wrote out Lac Courte Oreilles and dropped American." But the chairman said, "We will see if you will be around here for very long." That was under the administration of Odric Baker. At that time Rick St. Germaine, who was coming up in the field, came in and said, "Do not worry about it, we will have everything worked out real soon." So, at the next council meeting, when they broached the subject of whether or not I was going to stay with the journal--because I was making these big decisions without any consultation--Rick proposed that each month one of the council members get to name the newspaper. After that, Odric and Rick did not talk to each other for about two or three weeks. After that it blew over.

At that time, my position was funded by CETA, as were those of the husband-wife team who co-managed the print shop. Things were pretty easy in those days. We came in when we wanted to come in, and we left when we wanted to leave. So, the newspaper was on that kind of a schedule. I kept working on trying to improve it and trying to increase little things. We

The previous numbered page in the original document was blank.

had a little bit of advertising at the time. We did not have any specific funds to produce the newspaper. We were inside the print shop, so everything was just there. We grabbed what we needed from the shelf, printed the paper, and did not worry how much it cost. After a while we started looking at what we were doing in the print shop and decided that we wanted to develop the print shop as a whole into an independent business, which would do outside printing jobs as well. At that time we had to start evaluating what it was costing to do the newspaper. Early in 1980, we started getting some self-determination funds, which is money that comes in through the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Basically, the tribal council decides what the priorities are, and fortunately, they decided that they would subsidize the newspaper costs.

Later that year, the council also decided to make me an information officer and to fund my position with money from the self-determination fund, controlled by the chairman. He writes the budget and, generally, if it looks reasonable, the council passes it, and he becomes the supervisor. After I was shifted from the CETA program and became information officer, my supervisor was the chairman of the tribe, which is about the worst thing that could happen to journalist who wants to write critical news about what is going on on the reservation. I did get into several hassles with the council. I printed their salaries, when they did not want their salaries printed. It took me a week to find out what they were getting paid. But, someone in the accounting department finally snuck me the information. They were angry at first, but later they said that it was not half as bad as they thought it would be. No one said anything; maybe no one cared. So, the heat was off again, for a little while.

As I was saying earlier, I ran some articles and tried to do the best job I could in getting all sides of the story. One of the conflicts that we have every year concerns the elections. Once, we had a controversy concerning the person who is elected to the tribal council by two votes. Someone challenged his membership, after he was elected to the council. In tribal politics, there is a lot of factionalism among the communities on the reservation The controversy split everyone up in all kinds of different ways that I had not even anticipated. So, when I was going to write the story, I thought, "We've got seven council members, there are seven different opinions about what is going on." I told them that I wanted to hear from them because I was going to write a story. Well I did not get anything from any of the council members, but I wrote the story and bingo, there goes the intercom system: "Paul Demain, get in the tribal office." I knew what was wrong. It was the newspaper article I had written. The Tribal Chairman said: "How could you do such a misdeed to the tribe? You are information officer. You are supposed to be in charge of public relations. You know we have all kinds of other problems and here you are saying that people do not have their act together. They are fighting, and not recognizing the tribal court, and the court is finding the tribal council in contempt. They talked seriously about letting you go again." I said, "Fine, but that is not going to help you because the Sawyer County Record is only eleven miles down the road and that is where the next stories

I write will probably go." They thought about that and they did not talk to me for about a month or so, but I am still there. They cannot fire me now because our advertising makes the paper pretty well self-sufficient, though I do get some mean memos from them.

I wanted to tell you about one other thing. When I used to be information officer and editor of the Journal at the same time, there were times when I was sending out two different news releases. I wrote one for the tribal governing board on the information office letterhead saying "this is the way things are according to the council," quotes from the chairman, the secretary-treasurer, or someone else. Then I would get my Lac Courte Oreilles Journal letterhead out and I would say "this is the way it really is," with quotes from the chairman and quotes from the other side. Everybody liked that except for the Council General.

We have expanded the newspaper to a new format when we got a larger press. We keep it on this kind of newspaper rather than a newsprint, so that we can keep it in-house. It costs $100-$125 more than it would cost down at the regular print shop. We are doing with a little less in terms of circulation numbers. We are printing about 2000 now, but we keep everything in-house. I do the advertising. I do a lot of the reporting. I have some people who contribute. There is a part-time public relations person for the high school, who does general writing. There are also people in the community--one who lives down in New Post, and another who wrote a history of Billy Boy dam. I also rely on a man who covers marriages, weddings and birthdays. Otherwise, under the arrangement I have now, I try to do some kind of a regional article, the advertising, most of the composition, and 90% of the layout.

I am paid $240 per month out of the advertising commissions, and last week they decided to pay me for some back-time and hire me another 40 hours a month, through self-determination, to keep the paper going. I resigned from self-determination information office last June, with the intention of staying on part-time as managing editor. They were supposed to have hired someone as an assistant editor, however, they eventually used the funds to pay someone else's salary, so there was no money to hire the assistant editor when it came time.

I did make a little change since the last issue. We put "Great Lakes Indian News" on the bottom, because up until last week we were unsure we whether we were going to get even part-time funding, or revenue-sharing funds. We have been promised that. We carry a message from the tribal chairman that is paid for by the subsidy money that is coming in. That would have been the first thing that would have been eliminated in the last issue if they had not decided to fund us. The letter was half done on my desk, and it was very hard letter to write. I said that unless we got the money, I would pull their article first. It was something that we made a decision on and we were going to stay with it. We had planned, basically, to take the newspaper over completely from the tribe, if we did not get that funding. We would not call it the publication of the Lac Courte Oreilles

Tribe. It would have been an independently operated publication, and we were going to do our best to put it on a self-sufficient basis.

We are about 60% self-sufficient now. So, out of $1100 we bring in a little over $600 a month in advertising revenues. The last couple of months we have been losing money, but we have some people up at that reservation that think the newspaper is a very important public relations tool even though it is carrying hard core news. It is necessary for the wider community in terms of dispelling rumors, which get totally out of hand. From the time that something happens on the reservation to the time that it gets out to Hayward, the content may have changed. We feel that we are serving tribal members with a good mix of regional, national, and local news. Today, we are a monthly publication, with 2000 copies. We have subscribers in Germany, France, Mexico, Australia, and Canada--not a lot of them, but a good mix. We have about 230-300 subscribers among the 2000 that we distribute.

One of the things that I have been working on is to make the paper both self-sufficient and independent. Except for Sandy, Zoar, and Paul Skenandore, all the rest of the editors in the Great Lakes area are sponsored either by an Indian organization or by a tribe. Because of that we have had problems. We have had people hired on CETA, who can only work for eighteen months. So, we get a whole new crew eighteen months later. That is one reason there is no continuity to a lot of publications. They go out of print for months. People do not subscribe to them because they think they are unreliable, and they lose advertisers. Therefore, as I said, there is not a whole lot of continuity to the whole thing. That is nothing new to Indian country. It has been going on a long time.

One of the things that I have been trying to work on with a lot of other people is to learn those skills that are necessary in order to own and manage an independent, individual, self-sufficient Indian publication. Last year we had a journalism workshop in Eau Claire where we talked a lot about that. We decided to get together and form a Great Lakes Indian Press Association, which was an idea that came out of the National Indian Media Association Conference meeting in Spokane, Washington, last year. We felt that if we could not get it together at the national level, then we would try it at the regional level and plug people in each year at the national conference. We tried to do that. The Association is very loosely organized. I did put out a sample constitution and by-laws that the Northwest News Organization used as their founding documents. We did not get much response, but I tend to think that we do not need it to be an organization of Indian editors and writers. I look beyond just Indian editors in this field, because we have had such a cycle of people coming and going. If someone likes to write, they are going to be writing after they get fired or lose their CETA job. A lot of the people who are really dedicated to Indian journalism are still out there writing for their people, and they are still very poor. We all are. We do not have a lot of money. Some people say we are barely making it. Still, I did open my own business last year called the Great Lakes Indian News Bureau. I have been able to provide a few services from that office such as news releases, articles for the Milwaukee Journal, and for Nations magazine. I have two copies here which I guard very closely because we do not know if we are going to come out with another magazine. It is a very rough time to get a publication like Nations started. We were suppose to be monthly, but we have only published three. I am their Great Lakes editor. The last time they sent me a paycheck was last October. It is hard all over.

In order to keep this idea going, editors and newswriters and other interested individuals have been invited to go to a workshop May 25-28 at the University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire. We are bringing in Mark Trahant from Indian Youth magazine, and Loren Topahay, the former advertising manager for the Navajo Times. We have also invited some people from minority business organizations, statistical bankers, and people who are business-minded. We plan to sit down and try to put together some business plans for regionalized publications. I sympathize with and fully support local tribal newspapers. I believe every tribe should have a publication that they can use for public relations and news, but I also think that we have a lot more people to serve than we are presently reaching.

There are 28,000 Indians in Wisconsin alone, and maybe 200,000 in the Great Lakes area. But there are basically only two publications left in Wisconsin to serve them: the Menominee Tribal News and the Lac Courte Oreilles Journal. Between the two of us, we seem to be publishing about 5000 copies. Zoar's paper has been out of publication for a while. Melanie Ellis, from Kahliwisaks, has had some problems with the council, and they shut the newspaper down. Nishnawbe News from Marquette, Michigan, which had a large circulation at one time, is down to 800 copies as a quarterly publication. Circle News is looking really good. There is also a newspaper from Sault St. Marie, which is looking pretty self-sufficient, is regular, and has some good articles. So, we are making a lot of progress. Yet, at this particular time, there are fewer and fewer of us.

Another thing we want to talk about in Eau Claire is our circulation and marketing. My feeling is that if we cannot get together and put together a plan that is workable, no one else is going to be able to do it. I have talked to John Levine, who publishes several newspapers, and will also be attending the workshop. I sat with him for an afternoon. I said, "This is what I like to see in a Great Lakes publication. This is who will advertise with us, and here is how we are going to do it." But he said, "What about this?" He tore it all apart, and that is why I wanted him to be there, because I think he has a lot of ideas. He may dampen my dreams a little bit, but I think we need that kind of criticism before we get over some barriers. And, I think were going to do it.

Earlier, Antony said that one of these days we would have a network, and yes, we will. Maybe by next year, if I can afford it, I am going to have a word processor in my office to do news on. Perhaps the year after that, we can link it up with another word processor on some other reservation and the year after that we will add another one in Minneapolis, and pretty soon I think we are going to get something together that is going to work. Mark Trahant tried it when he was with Northwest Indian News Association, and they had computer equipment working out there. The idea and concept work. The money that they had expected did not come, and it fell through. We also have the National Indian Media Conference coming up in June. We are getting Heidelberg Press and several other equipment manufacturers to come, and we are going to do a hands-on production. I have all the equipment that we need to produce a newspaper and I think we are going to try to do it. Up at Lac Courte Oreilles we have copygraphics and several small presses in our composition department. They are antiques on the market right now, but they are doing the job very well. Still, we want to bring new equipment to the media conference, to let people know what is on the market at this time, because there is going to be a day when we are going to typeset our news articles and there will not be anyone in between us and the newspaper being folded.

Some people talked earlier today about Indian philosophy saving the world. I hear that from an awful lot of people. I get a lot of cooperation from a lot of the so-called environmentalists--people on the reservation call them the old hippies--who are into politics now. Indian people do have a good philosophy, I think, especially the traditional people, the elders. I try to highlight that in the Lac Courte Oreilles Journal. We have a lot of people who look at Indian people for those concepts because of the way the world is going. My life was threatened by some people who, not unlike the Ghost Dance, proposed that the end of the world is coming, that all white people would be gone after this happens, and that the Indian people are going to be the caretakers of the earth again. They said that anyone who wrote an article about what they were saying, would die within one year. I wrote an article on it, I sent it out, I asked all the media people to get together for one last bash. We are all around yet. It is going on two years now. The things they prophesied are not coming true, but they did wake a lot of people up. Some of the things they had to say are very valid. They are still around, they have a lot of people who are still actively involved with them. As I said, some of the things that they are saying about the way the world is going now, have a lot of validity, and we need to print that. If it is something that is going to happen I think we would need to tell everyone, in Indian country about it. We need to tell white people about it.

I think one of the things that I am looking at in the near future is the fact that 50-60% of the population in Indian country is under 25 years old. We are working with a different of group now in terms of our readership. We have to look at the youth, and that is why Zoar's magazine out of Milwaukee has a special touch to it. We see very few people at the top now, like Richard La Course and Rose Robinson, but we do see a large group of young people, who are dedicated to the concepts of journalism, without expecting a lot of pay. We are going to be looking at a different kind of readership that is going to need to know what is going on, and is going to make a major impact on reservations and on the surrounding communities. A good example of that occurred recently in Sawyer County where the local Democratic Party voted on resolutions that opposed the building of a tribal grocery store. They had about 25 members in the Sawyer County Democratic Party. We went out and sold about 250 memberships. Basically, we took over the Sawyer County Democratic Party. We got an awful lot of things going, as a result. This year we have about 30 people involved in the Sawyer County Democratic Party. (I happen to be chairman because no one else wanted the job.) But we do have some key Indian people in the party, who are going into that avenue of politics. Ada Deer, a Menominee Indian, may be running for Secretary of State. We have some local people who are interested in running, so we may upset Sawyer County again in terms of what the political situation looks like. We are growing in a lot of areas on the reservations. We need to have vehicles to get our ideas out to our own people, to our tribal councils (who sometimes are very ignorant themselves about what is going on out on the reservation), and to the non-Indian people who find it very easy not to look any further than their own front door about what is happening to the reservation that borders their towns.

Some people talked about other kinds of medias. The Lac Courte Oreilles Tribe just went on the air about two weeks ago, with what I think is the largest tribally controlled radio station in the United States: 100,000 watts. It is out of Reserve, Wisconsin. It is basically made up of six to seven paid staff members and probably a volunteer group of about 20-25 other people, who are coming in to learn how to program. It is making things exciting up there again. We have Indian and non-Indian, men and women working up there. We have a good widespread group. The biggest problem so far is the fact that they knocked Channel 6 from Duluth off the TV sets of a lot of people. Because of that, they had one of the largest gatherings of the Citizens' League for Civil Rights that they have had in years. They had 125 people there, and two years ago they only had five members. They wanted Channel 6 back. "Do anything but knock my Channel 6 off." So they had a meeting that I went to last week with several other Indian people. Some people said, "We have a problem with these Indians again," but that was the attitude of only some of the people. One man wanted to know why the Indians needed a radio station so big that they could talk to the Apaches with their tom-tom music. That is the mentality of a small minority of the people up there. Most of them were basically worried about solving the problem. An FCC representative said that the problem could be taken care of simply by adding a $9.00 filter to their TV sets. Then, people did not feel quite as bad. But at least, for the first time in a long time, I got people from the tribe and people from the Citizens' League organization together to talk. Typically the CCR has been a thorn in the back of Indian tribes. They filed several multi-million-dollar lawsuits against the tribes after they passed hunting and fishing ordinances over non-members and members of the tribe, challenging their jurisdiction. They have done a lot of other things that have not been beneficial to the tribes. But at this particular meeting the problem was solved. The radio station is here to stay. From time to time, the programs are being beamed by satellite through Wisconsin Public Radio and to the National Public Broadcasting Corporation in Washington, D.C. It may be that some of those programs will be rebroadcast on public radio, anywhere across the country, in Canada, and wherever something is happening.

Selected Afterthoughts

Audience: What is the geographic reach of the Great Lakes News Bureau?

Demain: The geographic reach of the News Bureau is unlimited because that is basically my business and I do with it whatever I want to do. I have sent articles out all over the country. I have a lot of other brain storms, but I just do not have the time to do them. It may evolve into a clearinghouse for news from other free-lance writers to the magazine. For the Great Lakes Press Association we were initially looking at Wisconsin, Michigan, Minnesota and Iowa because they were serviced out of the Minneapolis area BIA office. They are under the Treaty of 1854, they were all grouped together for the Chicago HUD office, and they were all under Public Law 280. So they were an obvious group of states. We do have people outside of that area who are interested because it looks like a great idea. Basically, what we have done so far is help sponsor two workshops, and print press cards. People like the idea of press cards, so as long as someone is legitimate there is a process to get one. Four dollars, if you care to have one.

Audience: I was pretty impressed with Nations and I would like to hear you say more about it; like who George Wilson is, what kind of funding backs it, and whether the problems are financial now.

Demain: I think that is the bottom problem. I met George Wilson and Duane Warren at the National Congress of American Indians Conference in Spokane, Washington, during the time when Mark Trahant was publishing the Daily Bulletin. It was the first daily Indian newspaper that I know of. For five days we had a newspaper there when we got up for breakfast, and for a couple days, when we ate dinner. Duane and George were both there, and I got a calling card from them . When I got back here I wrote them a letter and said, "I am having all kinds of hassles, I have been fired a couple of times, I am still here with half an ulcer and not knowing if I am coming or going. I am thinking about opening my own news bureau and doing free-lance work, so if you need a writer, I would be happy to help you out." At that time they did not have a circulation plan for the Great Lakes area. They really did not have any contacts out this way. So they wrote me a letter and said, "This is what we are proposing. We cannot hire you. We do not have the moeny. Would you do it on a free-lance basis? We will pay you as much as we can. As time goes by if you stick with us and everything becomes successful we will put you on board." I have had articles, major feature stories plus some minor articles in the back and general news published in the magazine, and I was paid once. So I wrote them a letter and said the cupboard is bare, and they said the cupboard is bare out this way too.

It is a very hard time to have started a national news publication with whatever limited funds they had. I am sure you are talking about a million dollars to get something to go for one year, maybe less. The hope that I had had was that this was in the planning stages for a couple of years and that they were going into it in an individual private business manner. There were no grants, there was no organization behind them. The subscription reply was very good. They had over a 1,000 subscribers before they had published anything. The subscription response is still good. But they have been having trouble getting the kind of national advertising that is necessary at their rates ($1000 a page), to be able to pay expenses. I am waiting for the next issue to be in my mailbox and I have not seen anything for quite a while. They do not return my phone messages anymore. It may have gone under already, I really do not know. We are not communicating very well. I wrote them a letter and said, "I have to do some other things. I am going to do some proposal writing, write a few articles here and there, and go to some conferences."

Danky: Is there much special programming for women, or on women's issues?

Demain: I think there will be. The radio station has some women programmers that are excellent. They have been in there a couple of weeks. Basically they were asking for a lot of volunteers to come there and help out, but nothing happened until it went on the air. Then there was quite an influx of people. They were trying to get me to help them out and I was pretty busy on a lot of things and when it finally went on the air, I went up there and someone said, "Hey, we have a programmer. Come in here and talk." That is about the way things have been going since then. If you want to do an hour-long program, you go in there and do it. They are fumbling around a little bit, but we have some people who are going to be good radio people. Most of the editors in the Great Lakes area have been women, and as one of the very few male Indian editors I find nothing wrong with that. It is something that they have been able to take on very well, and they are going to go places with that kind of a career, too. One of the things I noticed at the last Great Lakes Inter-Tribal Assembly meeting in Wausau is that women were coming up in the ranks in terms of getting elected to the tribal councils. There are a lot of macho people out there that say, "Traditionally we did not have women sitting as our leaders and there are more and more of them coming in as leaders everywhere." It is something they are going to have to live with because, apparently the women are doing something to get elected, or the men are doing something to not get elected.

La Course: There is now a national monthly publication called Ohoyo and I have never seen a male name or a male picture published in it. The other thing is that they published a national directory of professional Indian women which is as thick as a big city phone book. It is organized by discipline and by topic.

INTRODUCTION: April 23, 1982

James P. Danky

I would like to call your attention to some of the non-speaking activities we are offering and remind you of the exhibits that are here in this building and the one across the street diagonally at the library school. The one at the library school, specializing in children's materials, has examples of contemporarily published, small press children's materials by and about Native Americans. This morning, all of about ten minutes ago, we got an air express package from Edmonton that brought the second video tape which is neither of the two that I described, but it's about the production of their paper. What we will do, because of the benefits of video cassettes, is keep alternating them all day until the building closes this evening. So if you have a chance, do see them. I did have a chance to look at the Ute one yesterday, and I found it very interesting. It will add, hopefully, another dimension to the conference. The video tapes are being shown on the third floor in the Board Room. It is the only public room on the third floor and that is where we also have the exhibit of Steve Raymer's photographs, very large reproductions, that were used in the 1974 National Geographic article on the Menominee, so even if you have seen the magazine from 1974, it is a very different experience to see the large blowups. On the second floor, for those of you who haven't had a chance to see it, is a very nice display of Native American periodicals and newspapers from our collection. It is a very abbreviated exhibit, but I think gives a sense of the beginnings of American Indian journalism as well as examples of the contemporary press. The other surprise is that our morning schedule is as announced. I realize that that's going to be a trauma for some of us, but we'll try and get through it.

The annual meeting of the State Historical Society in Madison in 1954 was called the Draper Centennial, after Lyman Copeland Draper. One of the featured events was a symposium on the Indian and modern America. One part of that conference I hope not to replicate is that it took them about two years to publish the proceedings. But David Baerris, who was a professor of anthropology at the time and also a professor in environmental studies on campus, edited the published proceedings. In his introduction he made some remarks that seem appropriate today. He said, "It's interesting to note that this symposium on the contemporary Indian was held in the halls of the Historical Society. Perhaps this should not be regarded as surprising for it has long been the belief of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin that the citizens of this state are making history. It's concern is not simply the remote past. So far as the Indians of Wisconsin are concerned, they too have long been of interest to the Society. Its collection of manuscripts and published sources are perhaps unsurpassed and an excellent study series of Indian material culture available in the museum." He made these remarks and he noted that this was not a gesture of an historical society acting as host but rather a genuine appreciation of the fundamental role of the Historical Society as an aid to understanding contemporary events. I certainly hope our conference is too.

The previous numbered page in the original document was blank

RICHARD LA COURSE, INTRODUCTION:

James P. Danky

Our first speaker this morning is known to a great many of you. It is Richard La Course, who is presently editor of CERT Report from Washington, D.C., one of the activities of the Council of Energy Resource Tribes. Mr. La Course has been instrumental in editing and publishing many Native American publications. My own personal opinion in looking at many of them is that at the time they have sometimes been the finest examples of Native American journalism in the United States. They have included publications in Oregon, Washington and Arizona. Richard has also been an active speaker and promoter of the Native American Press all over the United States and has been actively involved in many of the groups we heard mentioned yesterday, among them, the American Indian Press Association and the Northwest Indian Press Association. There are four handouts at the back of the room that will greatly amplify his talk. I am sorry I did not have them prepared yesterday. I have a limited number of copies of the larger Friends of the Court Brief, because we didn't have time to make quite enough. But at least there are some of them back there. Richard will be referring to those during the period of his talk. Without further ado, I introduce Richard.

The previous numbered page in
the original document was blank

CERT Report

Richard V. La Course

I was greatly interested in all the questions raised by the staffs and editors of Indian publications yesterday. I think if I had to give them all a general categorical definition, I would say that there is a probing of the nature of the fourth estate in Indian America. Basically, that is what it is. That is what I am doing this morning, also. I want to do basically three things in roughly the hour I have. I want to give a general description of Indian America in 1982 that is relevant from a journalistic perspective. I want to describe the genesis and nature of energy reportage by Indian journalists, legal reportage and legal publications by Indians who are writing attorneys. Then, I want to deal with the sleeper issue of yesterday, which is the matter of freedom of information as exercised by journalists for Indian publics. All of these have a little bit of a legal history.

In 1982 there are 1.4 million Indian people living in the United States. The difference between the 1970 census and the 1980 census is that Indian people have multiplied by 50% in a decade. We are the fastest growing ethnic group within the United States. It is nice to go from a million to a million and a half people in ten years. The Navajo Tribe in the southwest is the largest and most rapidly growing tribe in the United States. I have a very close Navajo woman friend and I asked her why there is this astounding ascending Navajo birth rate. She just kind of winked and she said, "Because we're so friendly." So, for whatever reason, it is happening. Today, across the United States, Indian people are the second-largest land holders on the continent. This winter the selection of twenty million acres of land has been accomplished in Alaska, and within the next couple of years a total of forty million acres of land will be selected under the Alaska Native Claims Act of 1971, with the result that within just a couple of years Indian people will own approximately 100 million acres of land across the continent. We are presently about two-thirds of the way to that point.

I think it is not possible to understand Indian journalism unless one understands the nature of separate, diverse Indian societies in the United States. To be at Point Barrow with Eskimo communities, to be on the Navajo reservation in the Southwest, or to be with the Senecas in New York, or with the Miccosukees in Florida, is as absolutely different and distinct as being in Russia and China. They have separate cultures, separate languages, separate ways of loving, separate ways of praying, separate ways of gripping the universe, and separate ways of defining life itself. I do not like generalizations. Maybe that is why I am a journalist. I like specific, accurate, finite pieces of reality. These are all available, and available in a very beautiful and almost heart-stopping way, when you travel through Indian America. Everything is distinct, everything is different. Few generalizations work, and good journalism will know the tiny, specific refinements of these differences.

The previous numbered page in
the original document was blank

Since the 1930's American Indian tribes can be looked at from a number of specific perspectives, all of which affect and create history. One perspective is to view Indian tribes as legal, constitutional governments, which they are. Another perspective, which I will discuss shortly, is the legal view of Indian tribes as legal corporations within the capitalist system of the United States, which they are. The third perspective, which I think is very important, is to view distinct, separate Indian tribes with territorial borders, jurisdictional territorial borders, as vibrant, distinct, separate societies, societies very much separate from white America or mixed America and very different one from the other.

In the 1800's there were only five tribes that had adopted governing constitutions. They were basically the so-called five civilized tribes in the eastern part of Oklahoma today. In the 1930's the development of constitutional government arrived in Indian country through the passage of what was called the Indian Reorganization Act of June 1934. Today, every single American Indian tribe, rancheria, village, and community, has governing documents, and a printed paper trail. That is important to me--a paper trail of transactions of business, of decisions made or not made, and all the whys, which is the matrix of history. It is the matrix of government. It is the content of government that becomes both the matrix of journalism and the matrix of history. I feel very unconfident about reflecting more than 50% of some legal matters today for you. My observations will be primarily aimed at reservation communities, reservation governments, reservation societies.

According to the 1980, census 52% of the 1.4 million Indian people are reservation residents and 48% of Indian people are living outside reservations, primarily in cities. I look at the distinct life of Indian people in Milwaukee, or Seattle, or Denver, or El Paso, Texas, or New York City, or even Washington, D.C., as very comparable to the Jews who live in Moscow, or Lisbon. It is an interesting history; it is a distinct history. The history of the Jewish people in Moscow reflects the history of Moscow itself. But that is not the history of Israel, and I am interested in the history of Israel, so my remarks will be geared from that perspective. I realize that some of the governmental, administrative, or executive problems suffered by the staffs of urban Indian newspapers are similar to, and sometimes parallel, the problems of journalists working on reservation lands. But I believe that the most critical problems develop in a reservation setting, and the legal answers lie in the reservation setting, based on constitutional governments of tribes. My conclusions will be obvious.

A personal note about myself. I have worked on three reservations, the Umatilla of Oregon, in Umatilla County; the Yakima Reservation, which is my own reservation, a million and a half acres with a tribe of 7,000 people in southcentral Washington state; and on the Colorado River Reservation. The result of the last six or seven years of my experience has made me come to a point of self-awareness that I am really a reservation-establishment journalist. I kind of feel bad about that, but I understand what it is. I think the primary responsibility for every reservation editor, male and female, is to internalize and incorporate the entire political and legal history of that tribe, to understand the development of its instruments of government, the relationship of the present governing forms with the traditional governing forms of that tribe, the impact of traditional culture patterns on what may or may not qualify as the right to know, and so forth. I do not think intelligent journalism can be written on reservations unless one knows intimately the tax severence codes, water ordinances, civil and jurisdictional codes, development of police forces on reservations and so forth. It is very obvious that these are not all relevant questions for the urban Indian press, but it is the history of Israel.

Since 1934 and early 1935, every single group of Indian people across the United States has adopted a body of governing laws. These are not necessarily constitutions or called constitutions. Last spring I completed a survey of every single such legal document currently in force across the United States and Alaska, and 54% of these constitutions, in the text of the documents, guarantee freedom of the press on those specific stretches of Indian country. To me this is the legal ace in the pocket. There can be no oppression, no prior restraint, no censorship, no attempt or success at limiting data on those reservations where there are such constitutional guarantees. Through the late 60's and 1970's, with the passage of the Indian Civil Rights Act of 1968, Indian people have revised their constitutions and with a new sense of individual rights and, perhaps, a more developed human rights perspective. A large number of the amended constitutions have imported freedom of the press guarantees in their revised constitutions. Freedom of the press is a burgeoning actuality within the legal documents of Indian tribes and it is proliferating at a very interesting rate up to today. I could not take more comfort in something if I had to.

One thing that I found as a researcher in the history of Indian journalism was that suddenly it became passionate and private and disastrous. You come to love the people you are studying. There are suicides, there are murders involved in the history of Indian journalism. There is estrangement, there are people who go off the deep end and cannot cope for the rest of their lives, and there were students at Carlisle who would come back to Apache reservations, who were never understood for the rest of their lives because education makes you white, and so forth. It is quite a drama. It is something that becomes so intimate to me it troubles me, because I know Indian newspeople, Indian television broadcasters across the country. Only we understand ourselves and each other in a way that gives support and we can continue. Its quite a value that is there. In looking back into the past I get this depth charge of Indian existence that is there, like the American Indian literary tradition, and that has not really been examined yet. This taproot reaching back into time. We can learn from the past. We can really examine their mistakes, look at the protections they have established and build on those protections.

My point is that, in researching the history of Indian journalists I found that each generation seems to have a different temper, a different nature, a different perspective, a different desire to do things. The first true journalistic generation of Indian people emerged in the 1780's and 1790's with the formation of the Haskell Institute in Kansas, Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania, and a couple of other short-run schools that taught writing in English. A number of them had print shops, and a number of them had student publications. They were very similar to the Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe, the Southwest Indian Polytechnic Institute in Alburquerque, Intermountain School of Utah, and Mount Edgecumbe in Alaska, producing literate, actively writing young Indian people.

Another generation was in the 1880's and 1890's and I have traced what happened to these kids. They were the first laboratory Indian people, shipped out, like Sioux children in the Dakotas who were kidnapped, put aboard trains, and run toward the rising sun, as they put it. They knew the train was going to drop off the end of the earth. Nobody took care of these kids to make sure they were comfortable. They were simply shipped. After they had endured four or five years at Carlisle and they were farmed out to white families to clean their barns, till their gardens and clean their houses. They were really indentured slaves. That is what I mean about being disturbing when you really get into this.

Well, what happened to this generation? Some of them "went back to the blanket." When they came back to the reservations they wanted to "de-whiten" everything about themselves. They became the most traditional people one might want, but they continued to write, and their prose is very distinct. Another identifiable sector of this generation melted away into the cities. They continued to write. I recall some writers in Chicago, some in Boston, some in New York City, producing the first magazines. Another group of these students went to work for the federal system, for what was called the Indian Service and is now called the Bureau of Indian Affairs. They became establishment career employees who were also interested in writing and started newsletters within the federal system for Indian communities. I see those choices of "back to the blanket", the vanishing Indian in the city, and the professional career Indian as setting the tone for an entire century. We still somewhat do the same things, our families do the same things, our cousins do the same things. We follow those three tracks, but have become more sophisticated with the passage of a century.

The first national Indian organization (formed in 1913 on Columbus Day), the Society of American Indians, produced the first national Indian publication and the first national Indian magazine in the year 1916. When I, as a mature man of the 1970's and 80's, look at what was on the mind of the most important American Indian writers during the period of World War I, I am stunned. These first intellectual Indian elite wanted termination, wanted absolute assimilation. They used Brooker T. Washington as their role model and tried to find a counterpart in Indian America who could convince all Indian people across the continent simply to give up the Indian tie and absorb into America. The Indian press of the World War I period, with Wassaja and the others, is an absolutely contemptible assimilationist press, in my mind, which no Indian living today could possibly accept. So each generation has its conventional wisdoms which can be overturned by the succeeding generation. Maybe I have a few about which my children or my grandchildren will think "Whatever went wrong in him?" But it can happen. I see a derailed literary and journalist generation of the World War I period, and it is very disturbing to me. Society, time, reality do strange things to people, including strange things to Indian people.

Then, looking at the late 60's and early 1970's I will make a few generalities and then try to specify. I believe that the energy press across Indian America is really courtesy OPEC. The development of a national energy crisis in the United States has shifted the focus to the base of resources. Indian people today own a substantial amount of the remaining uranium in the United States; we own 15 to 18% of all the oil left in the United States; we own cobalt, copper, and more. With the establishment of the reservation system, tribes were relegated to what I like to call the "American outback": out of sight, out of mind, and untroubling. History has some humor and some ironies, especially at the present.

Indian legal rights have been argued in the courts since, I believe, 1803, when the first Indian litigation was reviewed affirmatively by the U. S. Supreme Court. But, the present generation of Indian people has someting new, unique, and unprecedented. Today we have approximately 350 Indian men and women attorneys, all of whom got into the study of law since the year 1967 when the University of New Mexico American Indian Law Center was established. We have a proliferation of the Indian legal press, the writers primarily being lawyers. We have the formation of national Indian attorney groups such as the Native American Rights Fund, the American Indian Lawyer Training Program, and others. I like living at this time. Maybe it is not comfortable, but it provides a kind of security to know that the legal representation of Indian issues is now a part of the business of people who have a true tribal sensibility and an American Indian sense of history, not just an American sense of history. These collisions have produced death, disaster and loss for Indian people for a long time and I think that the birth of the Indian legal press is a major bend in the river which will have continuing, advancing, and wider impacts upon Indian journalism as a whole.

In August of 1980, I wrote a letter as the editor of a reservation paper to the Solicitor's office of the Interior Department, which represents the legal interests and obligations of the Interior Department including the Bureau of Indian Affairs.* I wrote the letter because of the correspondence and telephone contacts I have with a large number of Indian men and women who are working in radio shows, editing papers, and so forth around the country. What prompted this particular letter was a friend, who used to be an intern of mine. She was a young Kiowa woman editing the reservation paper. She called me, crying. She was publishing something legal and she

*Reprinted in Appendix A

was doing it right. She was physically removed from the phone during our conversation. (Things do get nervous, things do get very tight and tough.) She was fired. I tried to summarize in this letter seven relevant legalquestions. The answer from the Interior Department said that "unless the request comes from the tribe itself we have no obligation to answer you and we are not answering you." So, I asked them to send a copy of that letter to the various Indian media organizations around the country. Then the office called me back three or four times in the next few weeks, asking for their addresses. I said if you know them, mail your information, and if you do not know, you find out. You are not getting it from me. So Interior has been no help at all.

My next step was to work with the American Indian Lawyers Training Program in Oakland, California. I drafted a proposed freedom of information policy* based on the provisions of tribal constitutions themselves, relative to freedom of the press and different specific pieces of language in tribal governing documents regarding open meetings--really definitions of an open society and its relationship to a tribal fourth estate. It is an attempt to define specifically what freedom of the press is on Indian land and whether there are certain restrictions or other latitudes that come from tribal societies which are not relevant to America as a whole. I used the exemptions to the Freedom of Information Act as a comparative tool for eight proposed exemptions to freedom of the press on Indian country. That is what bothers me most. I have circulated this around to a large number of Indian men and women who write across the country and to a large amount of lawyers. I am told that this basically holds weight, but what I do not want to do is to give anything away. I do believe that there are, as a number of editors mentioned yesterday, "the hard knocks of the hard news approach," yes, there definitely are. A lot of them bruise and they all hurt. But, I do think that there is a legal avenue to print and a legal obligation to print completely and comprehensively in Indian country, with the ultimate protection being the provisions of tribal constitutions, which are backed up by the 1968 Indian Civil Rights Act. Simply do it. Just do it. Do not involve youself in self-censorship or self-intimidation, just do it. Sure it is going to be a rough sea, but just do it.

Then, on the outside sector of the information field is the public Freedom of Information Act passed in the 60's and amended in the 1970's. The reason it is relevant to Indian journalism is because of the treaty or federal trust relationships between Indian tribes and the federal government. These are primarily with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, but also with practically all of the other cabinet departments, including the Federal Bureau of Investigation and in two cases the Central Intelligence Agency. (And there are Indian employees of the Central Intelligence Agency.) I mentioned earlier that, particularly since the 1930's, there is a paper trail, the archives of Indian government. There are also archives of individual Indian governments reposited in the federal agencies which can be obtained by the proper use, or occasionally the improper use, of the Freedom of Information Act. In 1979, I filed my first FOIA request on Indian matters with the Interior Department in D.C. I was in Washington state at the time and they took longer than ten days to tell me no. I got my initial denial, wrote my appeal, and then something very interesting happened. I had requested the dollar terms of all contracts approved by the federal government for legal representation of Indian tribes. I wanted to know what it was costing tribal people to be represented in courts on water rights, civil and criminal jurisdiction matters, taxation cases, hunting and fishing rights in the Northwest, fishing rights here in the Great Lakes. That is what I wanted. Well, can you imagine how many attorneys around the United States did not want an Indian or a white journalist to have this information? In the final turn of events, the Justice Department backed my request and the result is that I have it all. I have mapped it out to three major law firms, all headquartered in the West, whose average annual revenues are about $15 million a year per firm just from tribal clients. So, Indian people are paying at an astronomical rate simply for equal justice in the courts. This is the magnitude of it, and that is what the Freedom of Information Act can do.

---

*Reprinted in Appendix B.

I also have a letter. This a the letter, dated March 9, from Congressman James Hansen, a freshman Republican from the first district of Utah, (the northern part of the state and the eastern sector of Utah), to Secretary James Watt, the Secretary of the Interior. These are the terms of some of the journalism of the spring of 1982:*

March 9, 1982

The Honorable James G. Watt
Secretary of the Interior
C Street between
18th and 19th Streets, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20240

Dear Jim:

I have carefully studied the 1982 Wilderness Act, which was drafted by your office and which I am cosponsoring. Taking it point by point, it is a well drafted, reasonable vehicle for the people of the West and people of this country.

I especially think the extension date to the year 2000 is wise, rather than leaving it in perpetuity. The escape clause by the President is reasonable, and the deadline for Congress to act was well thought out.

---

*Hansen's letter withdrawing the above is reprinted in Appendix C.

> Present conditions, with the makeup of Congress, I wouldn't stake my life on its passage. However, I wanted you to know that I am a strong supporter, and hopefully the verbose and unreasonable hot heads will come around to this way of thinking.

Then he gets down to the point of his letter.

> Secondly, Jim, I would like some counsel from you regarding the following matter to do with our treatment of indians [sic] in general: For sake of background, when I was Speaker of the Utah House of Representatives, 1979-80, I worked on the [so-called] Indian Compact between the state of Utah and the Ute Indian tribe. After months of thoughtful study, I came to accept the premise that we treat the indians or native Americans (if there is such a thing), as mentally retarded children. We take away their opportunity for advancement, they become perpetual recipients of welfare, they live in squaller [sic], they have no incentive for betterment, and their personal habits have declined at a rapid rate.
>
> In my opinion, they are the worse [sic] example of what a welfare state can do to individuals. Possibly it is because of my religious background [he's a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints], belief in work, self-sufficiency, and belief that welfare without work is a grave sin, which brings me to these conclusions. Since that first encounter with Indian problems, I have been faced with the stark reality that the United States of America has made some terrible agreements that have degraded a once proud people.
>
> As a Republican Study Committee member serving with Jack Field's Natural Resources subcommittee [Jack Fields is a freshman Republican congressman from the Galveston, Texas area], we have assigned a staff member, Suzanne Reed, to determine how much money in any form ie., royalties, grants, fees, subsidies from any source etc., goes to the Indian tribes.
>
> We found the shocking example of the Ute tribe in Utah, which receives enough in mineral royalties and fees to pay each member of that tribe, man, woman, and child, about $7,000 per year, and we are still trying to determine all of the other sources of income members of that tribe receive. Yet when you drive through that reservation, what do you see but broken down houses, beat-up pickup trucks, and junk stacked in the yards. In negotiating the "Indian Compact," we found that these people are more interested in shooting two deer a year than they are in their grazing, water, and mineral rights. I am enclosing a copy of a bill introduced in Congress back on September 12, 1977, which called for the following: [This bill is the Cunningham Treaty Abrogation Bill of September of 1977.]

> Directs the President to abrogate all treaties between the United States and Indian tribes; brings all Indian tribes and their members under State law to the same degree as other American citizens; terminates all special Federal services provided to Indians because of their status as Indians, and makes inapplicable to Indians all Federal laws which affect Indians because of their status as Indians. The measure also provides for the distribution to individual tribal members of tribal land and assets held in trust for the tribe by the United States, or if the tribe prefers, transfer of such tribal lands and assets to tribal corporations, to be created in place of tribal bodies as presently constituted. H.R. 9054 provides for specific abrogation of Indian hunting and fishing rights granted by treaties and authorized compensation for property rights created in treaties for particular individuals. In short, H.R. 9054 terminates all Federal supervision of Indians and Indian tribes and makes Indians subject to all the same laws, in the same degree as are all other American citizens.

I know this is quite a turn-around in present practice, and I question if it can be done. However, there are quite a number of us who want to take a closer look at this approach. If it were possible, it may lay to rest all these thousands of problems which we encounter with our good friends of Indian heritage.

Before I go off half-cocked and do something really stupid, would you please favor me with some of your good counsel concerning this problem. I think it would be prudent if this matter not be discussed in very broad circles at this time, as neither of us needs the kind of problems it could bring on our heads.

Thank you for taking the time to consider this matter and advise me of your thinking on it.

Sincerely yours,
James B. Hansen
Member of Congress.

What do you do with letters like these? Simply print them verbatim and the only thing I have added to this letter is where he has misspelled words I bracketed and put in "_sic_." And that is the end of my comments for today.

Selected Afterthoughts

Audience: Did Watt respond to that?

La Course: Watt said, "I will respond down the line." So we have touched a little bit on the energy press, development of the Indian legal generation, and some Freedom of Information Act inquiries this morning. Are there any questions?

Audience: With regard to the freedom of the press within tribal jurisdiction,do you think that there will be a problem down the line if tribal nations won't allow certain types of information to be divulged? Because right now there are a lot of tribal chairpeople who are unaware of what that involves.

La Course: I agree.

Audience: There is a vast re-education process that has to occur not only among Native Americans but among non-Native Americans also.

La Course: You say re-education, I do not think the original education has taken place yet. In 1968 the Indian Civil Rights Act was passed which guarantees in specific language freedom of the press in Indian country. Following the adoption of the Civil Rights Act, tribal courts have really grown, the dockets and case loads of tribal courts have really grown, and tribal judges have become very sophisticated. This is the difference time makes. I think freedom of the press issues, prior censorship, prior restraint matters, maybe political firings of people because of what they publish, are really the second generation of legal issues which will come before tribal courts shortly and that will probably be the bitter education process.

What should we do in the meantime? I think what we need to do is come to common understandings as journalists together first, to make sure that we have the correct legal perspectives, that there are attorneys who know Indian societies, not just law. Know Indian societies, know press laws specifically, not just law in general. So I think that a legal tug over information will spill over into the tribal court process. According to the model draft code that I prepared and which is being read by a number of attorneys, the correct form for the airing of Indian information issues is the tribal court forum and only where habeas corpus is involved would the matter automatically be referred to a federal court.

I think I have six or seven questions I addressed to the Solicitor's office and I have my tentative answers. Can I try the answers on you? Okay. Does the freedom of the press apply to all practicing journalists of all races working on reservation land or does that freedom extend only to members of a given tribe on one's own reservation? I think tribal government from the days of the Cherokee Phoenix to the present, all tribal societies, have the authority to exclude non-desirables. If they want to ban Barbara Walters they have the legal power to do it, and the police authority to accomplish it. That is what the law says. It is a clouded matter. If I wanted to go up to Wisconsin Dells and as an Indian and not just an Indian, an enrolled member of the Yakima Nation, do I have a right to get into your country by law? I think the answer is no. I think that the distinct, separate, in a sense, the enclosed nature of tribal societies extends the power to exclude to Indians of other tribes. I think legally that is going to result. Maybe the full exclusive right to work comprehensively may apply to only one's own reservation. May, I don't know.

Are there limitations on the right of free press on reservations such as executive privilege for executive sessions, attorney-client relationships, and tribal national security issues? I think the answer is obviously yes. There are national security issues of tribes. Litigation in defense of water rights is a very obvious one to me coming from the western United States. I want to ask for a show of hands here. How many people are aware that in the last two congresses there has been specific legislation to exclude all Indian information from the Freedom of Information Act? One. This is how serious it is. The genesis of that amendment was the leaking of pre-trial information for a Pueblo water lawsuit. The federal government released all the confidential prepared data of the lawsuit the enemies of Indians. So all these things are complex, and it is hard to say this is right, and you only have one choice. So I can understand why Indian political groups do want serious and specific exclusions. If an editor or an Indian TV person or radio broadcaster is a party to conversations, not just as a private person, as a journalist between the tribes and its attorneys, he or she has absolutely no right at all to print them.

Audience: Would you comment on having state governments recognize the court systems of the tribal nations?

La Course: People call that full faith and credit or comity. I can answer it that simply. That is what's happening.

Audience: I feel a danger in that, we're not too strong in that area right now.

La Course: I think you are speaking too generally. The Navajo has an appeals court system, and has the high court of the Navajo Nation. Perhaps Wisconsin Dells does not have that. Yakima does not have that either, but we do have an appeals court system, so you can only evaluatively weigh it correctly, one by one by one. This gentleman from Utah, as the Speaker of the House of the Utah legislature, went through two years of negotiations with the Uintah and Ouray business councils, a six member business council at Fort Duchesne, Utah. He interviewed them during the process of negotiations and they have an 18-page compact voted on by the state legislature of Utah by all members of the tribe 18 and older at Fort Duchesne. When that process is completed, it has to be enacted by the U.S. Congress. About a third of the entire compact is on comity provisions and recognition of the decisions and operations of tribal courts and state courts. The way they have worked it out it is a dream world. You are simply recognizing mutual legal processes. I think my questions would be how do you report it all?

Audience: A few years ago there was a massive takeover of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and supposedly, truckloads of information were hauled out. Did the Indian press use that?

La Course: Do you know where the 60,000 pages went to? To Jack Anderson who is run on the comic page of the Washington Post, and I believe it was page eight or nine. I was a prime suspect and was tracked by the FBI. I had my apartment entered and so forth. I felt very nervous. Cab drivers told me I was being followed. But the people who seized the papers provided them to white people and I was very disappointed. Jack Anderson probably wrote a total of 36 paragraphs and never understood what he had. Les Whitten, Anderson's assistant, was delivered the papers in the Southwest after air-hopping and walking through terminals and catching buses, and I think he was so exhausted by his trip, he never got down to the content. I do not like to be that cruel or crude, but . . .

Audience: In what year did this happen?

La Course: 1972, November 6, 1972. Any more questions?

Danky: In listening to presentations of the editors yesterday and again this morning, I'm struck by the difficulty of achieving consensus with the kind of tensions in Indian country, the difficulty of taking all the disparate elements and bringing all those things together. That seems to add another burden to Indian journalists that seems very different--an additional burden not on white journalists.

La Course: I wanted to mention two things when I started this morning, and you reminded me I forgot them both. One, I think a number of tribes especially tribes in the West, are today developing technocracies. There have more sophisticated governments than the state government of Arizona or Nevada or that sorry state of Utah. The future is really landing in Indian country and in an interesting, very important way. It's fixed in time; it's fixed in history; it's fixed in law. Now I take ground zero seriously, but we will be around that long.

The other is, and I'd like to mention to the Wind River people and the girl from Menominee, that I think the highest demands on Indian journalists are working in reservation communities for one or two reasons. I can isolate a couple of them. One, people choose to stay there. They choose to be Shoshone or Arapahoe. They choose to be the Menominee. They choose not to go to New York and become well salaried and smart and recognized. These are the most stable societies on this continent. My reservation, the Yakima reservation, I can trace back to 50,000 years ago. We were up the Columbia River. I think among non-Indians only the people of Appalachia and some of the whites in the South have any sense of identification of land and place and specifics. These are who Indian people are, and we are going to be around for a long time more. It is a sense of permanence, a deep tie. And it is hard to describe what it is in words, but you recognize what it is. It makes the work of comprehensive, complex journalism in a reservation setting the most demanding, the most painful, the most bruising and the most delicate kind of writing that can ever be required.

I was once asked to edit a tribal newspaper, but I was more insecure at that time and I told them "I'm too urban, There is a lot I still need to know, before I could ever do it. But I am grateful for your offer and maybe some day I'll be able to say yes." Well I eventually did in 1977, but I grew up in the process. I love the page in the Menominee Tribal News with the pictures--little children, people who are having their anniversaries, and so forth. You get the human face of the tribe on that page every edition. It's unique and interesting to me. When I got back to the reservation I made some mistakes and they are the most serious mistakes I've ever made, because I had a page called Names and Faces, and it was like one page of People Magazine. Cute things, funny things, little things that really didn't constitute news stories. It was all soft stuff, playful too. I put people side by side in the same paragraph who had never talked to each other in their lives, and who lived there all of their lives, and oh, what a mistake that is. And that's what I got teased about for the rest of my work on the paper--not about writing sensibly about congressmen of Utah. That is what counts, that is the difference, and that is what permanent tribal stable societies of yesterday, today and tomorrow really mean. Yes, the writing is very different, very different, or the feeling of it is very different.

Audience: Can you say a few things about the associations for journalists, where they are headed?

La Course: I believe since 1977 the annual Indian media conference has been held usually in June. The first national meeting of Indian media folks was in Denver in 1971 and the conventions were held each year to 1975 then we went to a two year hiatus. The Native American Public Broadcasting Consortium and American Indian Film Institute have held the annual meeting since 1977. The galloping majority of Indian media people are print journalists but the conductors of the conference are electronic people. I am a hard news type. I am absolutely hard-core hard news type, and I'm really not interested in spending $800,000 in seven months to record a legend. I do not have the same interest in doing that and I find a sense of difference now growing among Indian video people, Indian broadcast people and Indian print people that is creating a problem. I do not know what the result is going to be. I do not think a Great Mother of all concerns, an AIPA that embraces video interest, broadcast interests, and press interests may be intelligent in 1982. But the conference is coming up in Albuquerque around the 7th, 8th and 9th of June, and the top item on the agenda is the reestablishment of a national media organization and it's looked to as interdisciplinary. Everybody wants it to happen.

I mentioned to Jim that I'm working on the prototype of a national Indian newspaper to be published in D.C., and I am almost done with the prototype. One of the functions of our newspaper, modeled on Wall Street Journal, Washington Post, and New York Times, will be a syndicated news service with simultaneous release of the copy as the Washington paper goes to press. So there will be news content that could be broadcast at Wind River the day our paper comes off the press in D.C. There will be no sense of exclusivity for stories generated for the newspaper. My interest in doing this primarily comes from being the editor of a weekly newspaper and knowing what profound "infor-mania" weekly papers have, and the need to satisfy that hunger with responsible content. There are about 16 weekly Indian newspapers across the United States, all of whom are hungry, probable subscriber-clients for a news service.

Someone made the comment yesterday that a national association just cannot work right now. It might not work for financial reasons or it might not work for other reasons, so we have a geographic grouping. What I like about the geographical grouping is that, for instance, the Northwest Indian News Association of Washington, Oregon and Idaho has a historic connection in tribes that media people recognize today. You do not add Nevada. Nevada people have not been part of the history of Northwest Indians, nor do newspeople relate that way. So what we are finding is the geographic face of tribal affiliations or those old historical connections manifesting themselves in regional media organizations.

Another thing that thrills and excites me is the formation of the American Intertribal Radio Society approximately a year and a half ago. There are ten Indian radio stations on the air. Most of them are in Washington, D.C., this week. I think that the needs and sense of structure, style and play, and looseness and tightness, that is proper to broadcasting is something that doesn't pertain to the newswriting at all, or the points of contact are very slight. I find radio people burgeoning all across the country. They're very serious people, and you do not tell them anything which is exactly the way they should be. I think that radio may be the new electronic spine of communications from now for the next 15 years or more. I do not think Indian-owned television stations are a hot immediate prospect because of the dollar matter.

I read a lot of things the Supreme Court does in print. One of them was intimate and personal to me, and that was the decision on the Pentagon papers in the summer of '71. The decision was that the media exists to serve the governed, not the governors, and it's succinct and precise and I can remember it. I brought a list of the radio stations that are currently broadcasting around the country now. It'll take me about a minute to give you these. KIDE-Hoopa, California; KSHI-Zuni, New Mexico; two on the Navajo reservations, KTDB-Ramah, New Mexico and KMCC-Tsaile, Arizona. The only Indian-owned radio station was born on the Navajo reservation and it is also the first reservation to have two stations. The next, KSUT-Ignacio, Colorado for the Southern Ute reservation. The newest and the largest and probably the most expensive perhaps, WOJB in Reserve, Wisconsin. Next, KEYA in Belcourt, North Dakota. KINI-Rosebud Sioux, South Dakota at St. Francis, South Dakota. Somebody yesterday was asking about the intermix of media and Christian concerns. I believe that station is ecclesiastically controlled and what happens in sound in a reservation setting would be interesting and I do not know what the answer is there. KNNB-White River, Arizona, for the White Mountain Apache. There are two new stations, one coming on line in July and the other in December. The one in July, KILI-Porcupine, South Dakota is on the Pine Ridge of the Oglala Sioux Reservation where the Wounded Knee takeover occurred. The station is seven miles north of Wounded Knee and the one coming on line in December is KMHA in Fort Burkel, North Dakota.

Danky: We've talked, yesterday and again today about the importance of media, and the press, in communicating information to the members of the tribe whether on the reservation or not. For instance, we were saying with regard to the Menominees, that if you wanted to get all the bad news, all you had to do was read the Shawano paper. And someone made the point yesterday that you cannot find articles about Indian America unless it's some sort of bad news. But it also strikes me that it must still be important for Indian America to communicate with white America. Is there a way that that can happen?

La Course: Someone mentioned that newspapers can present an alternative value system. If I thought that when I was younger I do not think that now. I'm just an old-fashioned type, and I think you simply write the stories straight, specifically, comprehensively, in an organized format, and do it in a colorblind fashion for the undefined reader. You're simply producing the goods, and people can read it in privacy at their breakfast table. They can read it while not being bombarded with rhetoric from somebody, and they can do with it what they want. Walter Cronkite says, "We do not tell you what to do. We give you contents to think about, and that's all we do." I do not like advocacy journalism and I'm really old-fashioned in that respect. But I know there's a charge there. But the very contents of Indian journalism will not even cross the minds of small town news staffs. They do not watch the living, breathing viable entities of tribal government; they do not understand the logic of tribal government. They are outnumbered by lawyers who represent tribes, and so forth. There's a fantastic part of the collective American drama that simply goes unreported.

I might mention that during the Trail of Broken Treaties takeover of the BIA in November of 1972, was the first time I was offered a job by the New York Times. The reason it happened was the New York Times reporter quit. They assigned a Black to cover a militant Indian takeover of a federal building and I wound up taking care of the guy. He was scared silly. He was very suave and he was very much a native New Yorker, but he simply couldn't cope and he was afraid to be around guns--so am I--and he finally just quit. He didn't quit the paper, but he called the bureau and said that he could not do it and was leaving the news beat, and that pains me. So the New York Times didn't get anything. Boy, do they mind that! I am not quite answering your question, but I lost the point.

Audience: Is there any point of intersection between the Native American press and the Chicano press, which I ask from an abstract understanding that a heavy element of the Chicano experience is also Indian?

La Course: I think that's an excellent question. I think I'll answer it this way. There's only one publication anywhere in the United States that is printed simultaneously in English and Spanish. It is now headquartered in Boulder, Colorado. The title of the publication is Indigena: the Native Peoples. And Akwesasne Notes, with which you are familiar, is an international newspaper. They are the two international papers: Akwesasne Notes and Indigena. Indigena really looks from the American Southwest down to the Falklands. I found the first time I visited Native Canada that the most read Indian newspaper in Canada is Akwesasne Notes. It has a circulation of over 100,000. Akwesasne Notes is read all around the world. Indigena has a more modest circulation, but that one paper, because it is printed in Spanish is probably the single liaison out of 400 or so Indian newspapers. Do you know that in Mexico that there are 196 separate Indian languages among the Mexican population and there are Native language radio broadcasts in Mexico as there are in Nicaragua this week. I hope there is the Native language station on the Falklands, so we can get the real story. There is no instant sense of connection between Chicano peoples and American Indian peoples, and in the state of New Mexico, specifically, with the system of the 19 contemporary Pueblos and the land grant claims by Mexican-American people there are political conflicts. Maybe it should be another way, but it's not the other way.

BARBARA LUEBKE, INTRODUCTION:

James P. Danky

Our next speaker this morning is Barbara Luebke from the University of Missouri School of Journalism in Columbia. Barbara is a veteran of both journalism and Wisconsin and fortunately I was able to offer her such wonderful weather to come back up here instead of the 20 inches of snow we could have just as easily had. Those of you who had a chance, a few years ago, to read the issues of journalism history which includes many of the speakers of the last two days, would be familiar with Barbara's work on Elias Boudinot who was the editor of the first Native American paper in the United States, The Cherokee Phoenix, the paper we heard discussed and mentioned yesterday. Barbara completed her Ph.D. just a year ago on this first editor and hopes that it will be a book someday. She's going to talk about it this morning.

ELIAS BOUDINOT, CHEROKEE EDITOR:
THE FATHER OF AMERICAN INDIAN JOURNALISM

Barbara Luebke

Richard mentioned the taproots that go back and I guess this one takes us back in Indian journalists as far as we can go. In dealing with Boudinot my concern is to preserve the stories of what heretofore have been forgotten journalists, right now Native Americans, but also with women, Blacks, Chicanos and others. I think those biographies cannot be or should not be lost. The mosaic that is American journalism has largely been dominated by the stories of the Hearsts and the Pulitzers and the Bennetts. But there is more, and we who record journalistic history finally have begun to realize that the record of American journalism will not be complete until the newspapers and the editors who served specialized audiences also are acknowledged.

The Cherokees were one such specialized audience. Yet, even though they are one of the most extensively examined Indian tribes, there is little general knowledge of Cherokee journalism and Cherokee journalists. The first of those Cherokee journalists, indeed the first Indian editor, was Elias Boudinot, editor of the *Cherokee Phoenix* for about four and a half years. For all the words that have been written about the *Phoenix*, little attention has been paid to its editor. Even one of the characters in the contemporary Cherokee presentation of the Trail of Tears asks, "Do you know why Samuel Worchester named his paper the *Phoenix*?" When Boudinot's name does appear, it is Boudinot the political particpant, more than Boudinot, the journalist, who emerges. Obviously, Boudinot's journalistic activities cannot be isolated from his other activities. Boudinot as journalist, and Boudinot as political participant, are inextricably tied. But a careful examination of his editorial activities demonstrates that he deserves more attention than journalism history has accorded him.

Boudinot seems to be one of those persons who is truly born at the right place at the right time. An inately intelligent individual, he was born into the Cherokee Nation at a time when it thirsted for knowledge. He had parents who, although not educated themselves, realized the necessity of schooling for their children, and they instilled Elias, it seems, with a spirit of adventure that allowed him to be open to new things. Then too, there were the missionaries, who both schooled young Elias and nutured in him a strong sense of Christian justice. Certainly this exposure to two cultures created tension in the Cherokee. Marrying a white woman must have exacerbated the duality. Yet, that is not what one reads in the Boudinot correspondence that has survived a hundred and fifty years. Instead, one reads of a man's love for his people and his eventual assessment that self-preservation dictated emigration. One historian has written that Boudinot became a leader of the Treaty Party "not for the injury of his nation, but to save it from further calamities, if not from utter extinction." It is easier now than then, assuredly, to see that Boudinot could believe in the necessity of that treaty signing. Undoubtedly, it also

The previous numbered page in
the or[illegible]

helps to be white. That is not deny that the governments of Georgia and the United States and the whites who lusted after the Cherokee lands treated the Indians most inhumanly. They did. The Trail of Tears is not a pleasant memory for democracy's children, but it would be naive to suggest that had the Cherokees, only 17,000 in number, continued to protest, history would have turned out differently. Elias Boudinot, it seems, saw the future, at least the immediate future, clearly. Some have charged that were it not for education, Boudinot and the others would have not signed the treaty of New Echota that forced the Cherokees west. Perhaps that is true. Eventually, however, some of the Cherokees would have come to similar conclusions. Removal was inevitable, and so the sooner the Cherokees submitted to it, the less they might lose.

Boudinot has been called a Cherokee of honor, an earnest Christian, and a man of exceptional ability and fine intellect whose life was devoted to the vision of advancement and well-being for all the people of the Cherokee Nation. He primarily served his people by editing the Cherokee Phoenix and how he grew in that job. As he matured from a 27-year-old novice, so did the paper--from a medium of exchange clippings and an occasional Indian article, to a true Cherokee advocate. As editor he became not an emulator, but one to be emulated. An apt model for subsequent editors, Indian and non-Indian, of all times. Boudinot's was an intelligent voice, caring, providing piercing analysis. The Boston Chrstian Herald, commenting on a Cherokee memorial to Congress wrote, "The language is plain, simple, energetic, expressive. At the same time dignified, decorus, pertinent. It embraces a wide range of powerful argument in comparatively and narrow space, without circumlocution or waste of words and in every paragraph comes directly to the point." And as one who does editing I appreciate that very well. The same could be said of Elias Boudinot. When he eventually decided that removal was the only course open to save his people he became something of a voice crying in the wilderness. He was naive surely in his continued incredulity about the "ignorance" of Indians expressed by other people and in his blind faith in human goodness. Culturally white, perhaps, he professed to the end to be a Cherokee nationalist. Often he is remembered with scorn for the signature he appended to a treaty. He deserves to be remembered too, not only as the first American Indian newspaper editor, but also, and more important I think, as a journalist who to the end fought for what he believed in and in the Cherokee's own words, he "saw a need and met the challenge."

Apparently descended from a long line of tribal chiefs, Elias Boudinot was born in the Cherokee Nation about 1803, to Waddie and Suzanna Reese, a daughter of a trader and his Indian wife. Boudinot's given name was Buck. He was educated first at the Spring Place mission school operated by the Moravians. He was six when he was sent to the school, where missionaries John and Anna Gambill had profound influence on him, and for their part they noted often in their diaries how special he was. In 1817, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions founded the school at Brainerd, Tennessee. It was there that Buck, having graduated from Spring Place, was sent for more schooling, and it was there that his life took another major turn. The ABCFM, which had been involved in foreign missions, decided to establish a school for, and I quote, "promising young heathen men" including Indian youth. When Elias Cornelius of the ABCFM visited Brainerd in late 1817, he spotted Buck Waddie and suggested that the young Cherokee accompany him on his return trip to New England. In May 1818, Cornelius, another ABCFM official, and four young Indians including Buck headed for the foreign mission school in Cornwall, Connecticut. Among their many stops was one in Burlington, New Jersey, where they visited with ABCFM member Elias Boudinott, a prominent New Englander, who had been chosen a member of the Continental Congress in 1777, and was elected its president in 1782. He also had served in the U.S. House of Representatives and had shown a life-long interest in North American Indians. Once again, Buck Waddie captured the attention of a benefactor. As the Cornwall-bound group left, Boudinot presented Buck with a medal and suggested that the youngster might take his name, a common practice at that time. And so when Buck was enrolled at the foreign mission school in August in 1818, it was as Elias Boudinot, the name he would use for the rest of his life. (Originally, by the way, he spelled it with two t's, inexplicably dropping one of them in April of 1831.) When the Missionary Herald carried its report about the arrival of the Indian youth in Cornwall, it was written of Boudinot that he spoke English well and "would not be suspected by his pronunciation of being any other than English descent."

The mission school added another dimension to the life of the ever-increasingly worldly Boudinot. That was its international flavor. Spoken on the school grounds were 21 languages including French, Spanish, Italian, Maltese, Greek, Arabic, Hebrew, Portuguese and Malay. Even if the youths could not always speak to one another, the intermingling of cultures was bound to affect them. Boudinot proved to be a skilled orator, who at his first public school exhibition gave a declamation he had written. He also began to demonstrate a flair for the written language that would serve him throughout his adult life. His first publication was a thank-you letter written to a Swiss benefactor of the school, which was reprinted in the Missionary Herald. Not surprisingly, at first the people of Cornwall had not been excited about the idea of a school for foreigners, but the minister convinced them of the importance of the project, and many became ardent supporters. No one was more supportive than Benjamin Gold. But it was one thing to support the tawny youths from afar, and even invite them for a Sunday tea. It was quite another to accept them into the family. It was at that point that the New Englanders, including the Gold family, drew the line. At that point they ceased to be tolerant. So when it was learned that Boudinot's cousin, John Ridge, wished to marry one of the young women of Cornwall, the underlying and undying hostilities of the New England Puritans toward the Indians blossomed again. Although Ridge eventually did marry Sarah Bird Northrup, Benjamin Gold was among those who went to great lengths to assure people that this was an isolated incident, and should not be used to detract from the efforts of the missionary movement that operated the school. Shortly after, Gold's daughter Harriet asked permission to marry Elias Boudinot. Elias and Harriet did marry in March of 1826, but not before illness almost claimed her life and she was burned in effigy, with one of her brothers lighting the fire. The Boudinots returned to the Cherokee Nation and Elias shortly took up the struggles that fill the remainder of his life. A Cherokee council resolution of 1825 to adopt Sequoyah's alphabet and to raise funds to establish a printing office provided formal recognition of the importance of that alphabet to the Cherokees. That it was coupled with the Nation's intent to establish a press was yet another indication of how far the forward thinking Cherokees had progressed in the early 19th century. It was little wonder that the Cherokee's desired their own press. The English-speaking among them--especially those who had been schooled outside the Nation--were familiar with the white press. As Sequoyah had recognized the importance of talking leaves that allowed individuals to communicate with each other, so the progressive Cherokees recognized the growing importance of the press in America. Between 1801 and 1833, the total number of newspapers in the United States climbed from about 200 to about 1200. During this period specialized presses emerged. Religious and literary periodicals filled the needs of people for such information. Anti-slavery and Negro newspapers were born to express the rights of Blacks. The labor press arose to counteract prejudice, to provide information, and to offer inspiration.

The time was right for a newspaper to publicize Indian views. And Elias Boudinot was the right man to get that paper off the ground. His role in the earliest promotions of it is unclear. But from the time he became involved in the project, he took the assignment seriously and devoted all his energies to make the Cherokee press a reality. The first order of business was a fund-raising journey north (some things never change), which Boudinot combined with his trip to Connecticut to wed Harriet. His address to the whites combined a history lesson with an update of Cherokee progress and an attempt to dispel misinformation about the plight of the aborigines. As he told a Philadelphia audience, "The most informed and judicious of our nation believed that such a press would go further to remove ignorance and her offspring superstition and prejudice than all other means." During his ten years as editor, Boudinot strove mightily to meet that objective and the ones expressed in the paper prospectus: "We would now commit our feeble efforts and goodwill and the indulgence of the public, praying that God will attend them with his blessing, and hoping for that happy period when all the Indian tribes of America shall rise, phoenix-like from their ashes, and when the terms Indian depradation, war whoop, scalping knife, and the like shall become obsolete and forever be buried deep underground." That was not to be, however.

Perhaps the most important role Boudinot played on the Phoenix was as a commentator. From its initial issues, the paper concerned itself with the Georgia-Cherokee conflict in which the state was attempting to force the Cherokees out of the Cherokee Nation. In the first year or so, however, the matter was not the obsession for the editor Boudinot that it would later become. The content of the Phoenix in those early months was considerably more varied than it was in 1830 or 1831, when at times, most of the four page issue was filled with articles on the causes of the Indians. Correspondingly, the editor's early columns were more diverse. Boudinot was freer to expound on other topics. Editorializing is similar in some respects to sermonizing. And nowhere is that more clear than in Boudinot's column on intemperance. The editor himself did not drink, and in much of his writing on the topic a holier-than-thou tone can be detected. But the editor probably used to be forgiven for that. He was a man who passionately believed, no doubt because of his Christian training and his own observations, that many of his Cherokee Nation's problems (if not its image) were compounded by the demon rum. He made that point in an early column: "Let the intemperate beware, and the dealer in spirits reflect and see whether they have not been fostering an evil of no ordinary magnitude." In a more philosophical column Boudinot questioned the widely accepted view that "the love of whiskey is a necessary trait of the Indian's character." He also lamented the fact that men who call themselves Christian contribute to creating a nation of drunkards, and he called upon the Christian and the patriot within the nation to stand up against the enemy, liquor. It is a strongly written column, as good as any Boudinot would produce.

The editor's passionate pleadings were not confined to the dangers of whiskey. When he chose to, Boudinot could write as eloquently on other matters that concerned him. One such early concern was the behavior of those in the Nation who were charged with enforcing the law. Boudinot believed they were not doing their job, and he spelled out what the consequences might be. "If the officers of this district are not more vigilant than they are at present, we should not be much surprised that the old game should be played over. The existence of a league between white and Cherokee thieves, this is the worst of all confederacies." Another time, the editor was miffed when he believed that the newspaper's efforts were not being supported wholeheartedly by Cherokee leaders. He made it quite clear that he thought they were more concerned with "the acquisition of wealth than the good and interest of their country." But even in the early months Boudinot wrote at length about white injustices toward the Cherokees. Such columns were based on the editor's faith in his fellowman's sense of right and fair play. The lessons of the Gambills and his foreign mission school mentors, however, clash head-on with reality. For the time being though, Boudinot seemed to give the whites the benefit of the doubt, although tinges of the skepticism are evident, as in the column in which he wrote:

> The causes which have operated to exterminate the Indian tribes that are produced as instances of the certain doom of the whole aboriginal family appear plain to us. These causes did not exist in the Indians themselves nor in the will of heaven, nor simply in the intercourse of Indians with civilized man. But they were precisely such causes as are now attempted by the state of Georgia, by infringing upon their rights, by disorganizing them and circumscribing their limits. While he possesses a national character there is hope for the Indian, but take his rights away, divest him of the last spark of national pride, and introduce him to a new order of things, invest him with oppressive laws, grievous to be borne, he droops like a fading flower before the noonday sun. Most of the Northern tribes have fallen prey

> to such causes and the Catawbas of South Carolina are a striking instance of the truth of what we say. There is hope for the Cherokees as long as they continue in their present situation. But disorganize them either by removing them beyond the Mississippi or by imposing on them heavy burdens, you cut a vital string in their national existence.

What the Cherokees faced, of course, was land-hungry, western-moving, white America. And what some Americans wanted most was the land that the Cherokees had called their own for as far back as their grandfather's grandfathers could remember. In the words of the day, "All I want in this creation is a pretty little wife and a big plantation away up yonder in the Cherokee Nation." As the whites pressed their claims, what came to be called removal story developed into a full-fledged battle between the Southern Indians and the governments of Georgia and the United States. The Cherokees resisted the longest and most strongly, not only for themselves, but all Southern Indians. As their newspaper ended its first year of publication, its name was changed to reflect the growing protest. It became the Cherokee Phoenix and Indian's Advocate. And editor Boudinot wrote that he felt his task was to lay before his readers "all that may be said on this subject, particularly the objections against this measure of the government." The Phoenix was the only paper in Georgia to protest the Indians' removal. As a principal voice for one of the parties of the conflict it excelled in covering the removal story. The paper has been called, "a potent weapon," recognized by scores of newspapers that quoted it, by Georgia officials who sought to control it, and by federal officials who tried to answer it. Boudinot's leadership was essential. A man of keen discernment, eloquent and fearless, he proved to be "a publicist to be dreaded." The increasing troubles confronting the Cherokees were collected in Boudinot's columns. So was the general sentiment that in the end the Indians would not be forced from their homelands. Boudinot was unwilling to blame the citizens of Georgia, the people of what he called a Christian state, for the Indians' troubles. And he showed trust in the federal government: "We have full reason to believe that it will not now forsake us and deliver us up to those who would seek our hurt." In fact, in spite of mounting evidence to the contrary, Boudinot continued to be charitable toward his white brothers. That was not always easy, however.

By late 1829 he was growing more puzzled, more angry. In one column for example, he wrote:

> When we reflect upon the prospects of the Cherokees and their kindred tribes, and the methods and devices of interested white people to obtain the lands, we feel what is not in our power to express. We feel indignant at such arbitrary measures. We often ask ourselves, are we in the United States the refuge of the oppressed, the land of Christian light and liberty? Where is the superior excellence of republicanism? While we feel indignant at the persecuting civil power which would bear us down to the ground, we mourn for the apathy and indifference of the Christian community on

> the subject. How few there are who will venture to speak a word in our favor.

The editor's correspondence also reflected a changing mood. Late in 1829, he wrote a friend that he now realized that the fate of the Cherokees' future rested with the people of the United States, "If it should be decided that we have rights, then in these rights the United States are bound." On June 1, 1830, several acts giving Georgia jurisdiction over the Cherokee Nation went into effect. On May 29, Elias Boudinot wrote in his Phoenix column, "To us the future is but darkness. One thing we know, there will be suffering. The Cherokees will be prey to the cupidity of the white man. Every indignity and every oppression will be heaped upon them. They have already undergone much, when the time is merely in anticipation. How will it be when full license is given to their oppressors?" Boudinot's very public position left him vulnerable to criticism. Much of it is as scurrilous as any leveled against any frontier editors. His Cherokee blood often was questioned by those who continue to assert that an Indian could not edit a newspaper, let alone ably. He answered one attack this way:

> The Augusta Chronicle tells its readers, which by the way is not so, that the editor of the Cherokee Phoenix is a half-breed. If this were true we know what good purpose it would answer to the Chronicle to tell it. Upon reflection, however, our readers will find it to be an ingenious turn to get out of a difficulty. Some of the Georgia papers have confidently asserted that only whites and half-breeds in this nation were opposed to emigration. It is ascertained by the editor of the Chronicle that the editor of the Phoenix is opposed to emigration. Therefore, he must be a half-breed.

From the beginning of his tenure as Phoenix editor, Boudinot had been a thorn in the sides of Georgia and federal authorities who advocated Indian removal. In his commentaries the editor was blunt and to the point. There was nothing subtle about the anti-government sentiments expressed. The straightforward approach may not have been the best approach, however. As one observer remarked, "It is hardly worthwhile to tell an enemy how he may vex and injure you most effectually." But it was Boudinot's approach and now surprisingly his forthrightness got him directly involved in the fray. In 1831 when the Georgians stepped up their harassments of residents of the Cherokee Nation, Boudinot was a target. After a lecture from the Commander of the Georgia Guard, Boudinot explained the events in three columns headed "Liberty of the Press." As Boudinot told it, the colonel had charged the Phoenix with slandering Georgia and the guard. Boudinot responded by repeating a common theme: "Truth has been our object and truth shall be our object." Apparently convinced that the editor had not responded properly to the first lecture, the colonel asked to see Boudinot again. The editor refused. He then was escorted by four armed guards. Boudinot wrote that the colonel was concerned that the editor was publishing statements of the white missionaries under his name, since the colonel considered him "a peaceable, passive, inoffensive and ignorant kind of man and as not possessing sufficient talent to write the editorial articles of the Phoenix." Boudinot wondered if a white editor would have been treated as he had been, and if so, "What would be the feelings of the people? In this free country where the liberty of the press is solemnly guaranteed, is this the way to obtain satisfaction for an alleged injury committed in a newspaper? I claim nothing but what I have a right to claim as a man. I complain of nothing of which a privileged white editor would not complain."

As offensive as the Colonel's reactions were, Boudinot faced more immediate problems. The Phoenix, never financially stable, needed money badly. In late 1831, the tribal council sent him north on his second fund-raising trip. His correspondence back to the Nation was optimistic. In talking with good Christians, he found support for the Indians. Then on March 3, 1832, the U.S. Supreme Court handed down the decision that declared Georgia's jurisdiction over the Cherokee Nation unconstitutional. The decision came as a result of attempts by four missionaries, imprisoned for refusing to sign Georgia's loyalty oath, to free themselves. The Cherokees were ecstatic. They interpreted the decision to mean that their difficulties were over, that their position had been vindicated. But the jubilation proved to be premature. Georgia ignored the Court. President Jackson boasted that "Justice John Marshall has made his decision, now let him enforce it." The U.S. government's failure to uphold what its highest court had mandated, seems to have been the fatal blow to Elias Boudinot's steadfast belief that Indians eventually would find justice. He returned to the Cherokee Nation in the summer of 1832, "disillusioned by the obvious impotency of the Supreme Court decision and discouraged by powerful friends in Washington and the East, expressing doubt about continuing the struggle against unequal odds." On August 11, 1832, Elias Boudinot resigned as editor of the Cherokee Phoenix.

What finally destroyed the optimism and hard-line anti-removal policies espoused by Boudinot at the time he assumed the mantle of editorial leadership is unclear. No doubt the fund-raising trip had drained his energies. He was never a well man. The separation from his family could only have reinforced for Boudinot how occupied his life was with Cherokee matters and how little time he had to spend with the children and wife he loved so dearly. Too, his detention by the Georgia Guard must have impressed upon the editor the fact that he was in a most vulnerable position. The very job that week after week called upon him to plead eloquently the cause of the Indians also meant that he was one of the most visible anti-removal spokesmen. A year before, the Guard only had detained him, only had lectured him. He was well aware that if they chose to, Georgian authorities could find some reason to imprison him, even as they had his missionary friends. There were non-personal reasons for the editor's dramatic change of heart too. One was the apathy of the American people as the Georgian government balked at releasing the imprisoned missionary and recognizing the Cherokee Nation's independence. In a poignant column shortly after his return to the Nation, Boudinot's pain was obvious.

> What do the good people of the United States think of the distressed condition of the Cherokees? Is their attention so completely engrossed in their own private affairs that they cannot even find time to shed a tear at the recollection of such accumulated

> oppressions heaped upon their fellow creatures? Has the cause of the Indians been swallowed in other questions? Or how can we account for the silence which pervades the public in regard to the conduct of the general government and the state of Georgia towards the Cherokees.

The conduct of the president also amazed the editor. "He will not move his little finger to support the constitution and laws of the country and save his once Indian allies from utter destruction." As for Georgia, "They glory in their shame, triumph over their own laws and smile at the cries of the subjects of their cruelty. What signifies to tell it when the complaints of the oppressed are unheeded by those in high places and regarded by the people only in silence?"

In his last editorial column for the *Cherokee Phoenix* Elias Boudinot included a copy of his resignation letter to principal chief John Ross. In that letter he attempted to explain why he was stepping down as editor. For one thing, Boudinot wrote, the paper had in his estimation "succeeded all the purpose that it can be expected to achieve hereafter." Two of the primary objects had been "the defense of our rights and the proper representation of our grievances, and both have been met," he said. Further, he said that since these great and important objects of the paper no longer existed, the tribe's precious financial resources could be put to better use elsewhere. Thirdly, he explained it would not be possible for him to edit the *Phoenix* "without having the right and privilege of discussing these important matters." But if he did that, it had become apparent already that he would be considered "an enemy to the interest of my beloved country and my people." So for the last time as editor, Boudinot pledged his devotion to truth. "I love my country, and I love my people, as my own heart bears me witness. And for that very reason I should think it my duty to tell them the whole truth, or what I believe to be the truth. I cannot tell them that we will be reinstated within our rights, and I have no such hope."

Following his resignation, Boudinot seems to have withdrawn for a while from the public spotlight that he had lived in the previous four and a half years. In early 1833, he resumed translating and publishing religious materials with his friend, Samuel Worchester. He also wrote a book titled, *Poor Sarah; or, the Indian Woman*. But as one of the most educated men in the Cherokee Nation he could not remain in the background for long. Soon he and the so-called treaty party began openly to advocate ceding tribal lands in the East, as neighboring tribes already had done. On December 29, 1835, the treaty of New Echota was signed. The treaty signers, in the words of one of them, expected to die for their act. And indeed several of them, including Boudinot, eventually paid for the treaty with their lives. On the morning of June 22, 1839, Elias Boudinot was helping the workmen who were building a new house in the West for he and his family. A group of Cherokees seeking medicine approached him, and when he turned to help them, he was murdered. A day later Samuel Worchester presided over Boudinot's funeral and burial. His friend, he said, "had fallen a victim to his honest zeal for the preservation of his people."

Selected Afterthoughts

Danky: One of the things we talked about yesterday, and again today is the need for a connection between the editor and the community that he's attempting to serve. It seemed clear that it was not only important, but that it is happening among the editors we have heard from in the last two days. It is not clear to me how Boudinot did that. He appears to have been a member of a very small elite within the Cherokee Nation and obviously, his violent demise is indicative of the divisiveness.

Luebke: I think there's no question that he was an elite. And obviously that is why he was where he was, doing what he was doing. The content of the paper reflects, I think, his distance from the people sometimes. The Cherokee Phoenix wasn't much different than other pioneering papers of the time in the problems that it had, and in the kinds of content that were in the paper. But there is no doubt in looking at the paper, that he was pretty much directing the non-Indian content that he had to the members. It was in Cherokee and English of course, but most of it was in English to the other elites.

Littlefield: There had been political changes in the Cherokee Nation before that time. Before they established the Phoenix they had attempted to write a constitution about 1817, and then they had written one in 1827. And so they had, at least on paper, a republican form of government. The political parties were already shaping up and were factionalized over the issue of removal more than anything else. That was the issue that really brought it all to a head. And Boudinot happened to belong to the party that was out of office. John Ross replaced him with his brother-in-law, Hicks, because he wanted someone as editor who would stand pat for the elected government of the Cherokee Nation.

Luebke: Boudinot had to answer to the tribal council.

Littlefield: I don't think he was a member of the elite in the more traditional tribal sense. It was more a matter of being a member of the in-party or the out-party.

Audience: What kind of circulation did the Cherokee Phoenix have?

Luebke: Very small in the beginning, in the low hundreds. I don't have the exact figures. It did circulate, surprisingly enough, to many of the people of the time, and surprisingly to people now, in Europe. There were people who got it in Switzerland, in Germany, in France; it went into New England. There were agents for the Phoenix in ten or twelve cities along the East coast.

Littlefield: Niles National Register really helped that paper become popular because it reprinted articles.

Luebke: It was probably the major source of the Cherokees' position on non-removal in the rest of the press because it was excerpted widely. That was why Boudinot eventually stepped back, because he wanted to put in the pro-removal side and they said no. It could be described as a free press issue. He thought the need was there to show the other side. The tribal council said no, that the paper existed to publicize what they wanted to say.

Danky: What degree of literacy, either in English or Cherokee was in the Cherokee Nation at that time? I get the feeling that a lot of the Phoenix's readership was white.

Lubke: Virtually all of the Cherokees could read, and story after story after story is told of people being able to read within a day or two days, once Sequoyah's alphabet was circulated.

Audience: They memorized the symbol for each syllable since there were only a limited number of syllables in the language.

Luebke: It was 86 to 85 I think. I think the question remains how many Cherokees could read the bulk of the paper which was in English and that number probably was relatively low.

ZOAR FULWILDER, INTRODUCTION:

James P. Danky

Our next speaker is Zoar Fulwilder who was the editor and publisher of Zoar's Weekly Information. I also recognize his mother, Sandi, who helped bring him here who's over around the corner. Zoar's going to tell us about his publication which has been suspended since November but is about to go back into production, maybe with an account of our conference. Zoar.

The previous numbered page in the original document was blank.

ZOAR'S WEEKLY INFORMATION

Zoar Fulwilder

My first paper was handwritten and was printed on a Xerox machine. It did not have any photographs, because we did not have a camera. It first was a paper of gossip. My favorite piece of gossip concerns a woman who forgot that I printed a paper. She told me about putting Right Guard in her hair. She thought it was hairspray until she noticed the smell.

My first paper was sold for two cents. I sold about 13 copies, enough to buy a candy bar. With inflation now you can't. (I can remember when they were 25 cents.) Later I made changes at the request of my subscribers. I added community events, sports, a fun page with a powwow dog, and feature stories. I published it weekly. ZWI was sold for five cents then. I still included gossip and recipes like doghead stew. One of my readers wrote and said, "I enjoyed the doghead stew but I miss my poodle." ZWI started out as a youth newspaper with a circulation of about 200. Now it's about 300. The highest I have sold is 400.

In January of 1981, I changed to a magazine for Indian youth. I started to use 11x17 pasteup sheets, press-on lettering, graphics and more photographs. I included more community events, more Milwaukee area news, youth news, editorial tips, and that's about all. I also covered powwows. I had a powwow calendar, and a powwow dog. My paper now sells for 50 cents and it's monthly. I got my news by going around and getting it. Sometimes I didn't tell people I was publishing a paper and they told me gossip and other things because they probably never thought a kid would be publishing a paper. That's how I got my gossip.

In order to operate a paper of this size, I need help now and then. I asked Indian people from Milwaukee to write special sections of ZWI. The reason I do my paper (and I think it is important) is that it's something for me to do. It is exciting. I like to find out the latest gossip. I took a look at the Milwaukee Indian News, and I felt it didn't contain a wide enough variety of news. It didn't have news for kids. I also liked humor. I felt, even as a free publication, it is very important to listen to your subscribers, what they want, and to use their ideas for examples. We serve Indians in prison, Milwaukee area Indians and the general public.

We make it a point to have an attractive newspaper because it sells. I took a course where they taught us how to take pictures with a camera. I already know how to take pictures, but not very well. I messed up a couple of them. Instead of a magazine, I was thinking of turning back to a newsletter, because it might be a little cheaper, and I need the money. I was thinking of raffling off an Atari video set, if I can get one. They sell them at K-Mart, but I don't know how much they are.

The reason I like my paper a lot is that it has interesting things. In order for me to get my news I need to go to all the community events and get

The previous numbered page in the original document was blank

the news. And I like going to the places that I get to go, like Madison. I got to miss school. Eau Claire I liked because I got to miss school again. I had fun at Eau Claire, it was pretty nice. My uncle took us to a restaurant that was pretty good, and I learned how to type on a terminal, and I learned how to use one. It's pretty easy, and I got through it. I think that's about all. Does anyone want to ask me any questions?

Selected Afterthoughts

La Course: Do you plan on working with newspapers as the years go by?

Zoar: Yes. I hope.

La Course: Why do you want to stay with it?

Zoar: It's fun. And I like getting news and coming places.

Danky: I know you write about some of your friends in the paper. What was their reaction when you first started doing this?

Zoar: They didn't know. Then one of my friends kept putting art into my paper and he acted like he was the king of the house because he got into a paper. My mom told me about that.

Audience: Have you any libel suits yet? From the lady that you talked about spraying her hair with Right Guard. She didn't go to court and ask for damages?

Zoar: No. I was in the health board for an appointment. So I went and she asked me, "Did you go and put this in the paper?" I showed it to her and she said "I didn't know you were writing a newspaper." Next time I have to be more careful.

Danky: Do you look at other American Indian newspapers and magazines?

Zoar: Yes.

Danky: What are some of the ones that you like. What are some of the ones that have impressed you?

Zoar: I don't really know, because I never read the whole thing. The one that I think I like is the LCO Journal. It's pretty nice.

Audience: Do you take stories right from some of the other newspapers?

Zoar: Yes, some of them. I only do that once in a while.

Audience: Why do you use them?

Zoar: Because sometimes they get to the news first or sometimes it's from another state and I can't go there.

Audience: Are you going to start printing your paper again soon?

Zoar: Yes, I hope.

Audience: How much will that cost you to do that?

Zoar: About $200 or $300. I'm hoping to get it cheaper. Somehow, that is.

Audience: Where do you get the money?

Zoar: By selling my paper and donations.

S. Wabanascum: He's gotten donations and grant from the Wisconsin Indian Resource Council. And a lot of supplies, for instance the typewriter, are donated by the Milwaukee Indian community. The photography is given us free of charge by the Martin Luther King Center. It's our way of getting the Black community to work with us. They want to start developing a hand-in-hand relationship with the Indian community.

Zoar: I hope some day to win the small businessman's award. No applause, no applause. Just throw money, I need it.

Audience: How old are you? What grade are you in?

Zoar: I'm in different grades, I have to travel around. I have 4th grade reading. I'm supposed to be in second grade, but I go to third, fourth and sometimes fifth. And I'm eight.

Audience: Do you use a tape recorder or do you write notes?

Zoar: I write notes, but I do have a tape recorder and I don't like using it.

Danky: Have you ever heard of anyone else who is about your age who is putting out a publication?

Zoar: About my age, not really. I heard of one that's eleven, but I think I am the youngest one so far. Oh, I would like to thank the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

Danky: Well thank you Zoar. Zoar's got his copy of his 1981-82 advertising rates for all of us who want to place our ad. We're only a little late. Why don't we pick up at approximately 1:30. Thank you.

JAMES MURPHY, INTRODUCTION:

James P. Danky

Due to considerations of age that weren't evident to me our first speaker of the afternoon would prefer to start sitting down. This afternoon Jim Murphy who talked yesterday, along with Sharon, on an overview of Native American press is, like Sharon, going to talk about his area of current research which is Alaskan Native Media. He'll be talking and then the second speakers will be Daniel Littlefield and James Parins who will be talking about their recent and on-going research and then Richard Morris and we should be done shortly after about 4:00 or so this afternoon. Jim.

The previous numbered page in
the original document was blank.

THE ALASKAN NATIVE STORY: WHO IS TELLING WHAT TO WHOM?

James Murphy

Alaska is in some ways far distant from us here. But in other ways it is quite close--especially in terms of the concerns of the human and native family. It's obviously very close to what is happening in the rest of the country and the rest of the world, for that matter. There are a lot of interesting and, I think, fairly important things going on in Alaskan Native communications these days. For the last couple of years, I have been doing research in Alaska Native communications, journalism, and other media, trying to get a handle on a very complex, obviously very extensive media scene, both current and past.

One way to get a handle on the history of the Alaskan Native press and the change that it has undergone in the last 30 years is to look at and contrast briefly, the first Juneau-based Alaska Native paper, and a current Juneau-based paper. The first one started in 1954. It was called the Voice of Brotherhood. It was dedicated to the concerns of the Alaska Native Brotherhood and Sisterhood, which was a group that had formed back in the early part of the century. The paper was devoted to acquiring Native rights, to equal opportunities, to health concerns, and other features of importance to a Native audience that was and still is fighting for identity, recognition, and fairness across the board. It was a simple, plain sheet, an unimposing newspaper put out in a plain, simple building, the Union of Brotherhood Hall in Juneau. For a long time it was edited by Cyrus Peck, whose paper it became. It lasted through about the middle part of the last decade. Today, however, and since the late 70's we've got another Juneau paper that shows a contrast and shows what has happened in the past 30 years. The Sealaska Shareholder is a monthly public relations newsheet that is done by the public affairs department of the Sealaska Corporation. Sealaska is one of the thirteen regional corporations in Alaska and perhaps the most successful. It is edited by a couple of young, professional, heads-up Indian journalists, Ross Sobleleff and Ray Gonzalas. Its dual mission is to put the best face of the corporation forward while also inculcating Native values and featuring individuals within the Native corporation. It looks at colorful and successful Tlingets or Haida people, and does quite a bit with historical features and topics. It's a slick, polished publication. It's published in Suite 300 of the beautiful new headquarters of Sealaska Corporation, at 1 Sealaska Plaza in beautiful, downtown Juneau.

The contrast is evident. The torch hath passed indeed, and the new type has been cast in the change from the Brotherhood to the Sealaska Shareholder. Dr. Peck's effort, the Voice of Brotherhood, accomplished its mission to a great extent. A couple of years ago Peck said that he felt he had largely done what he had set out to do in terms of Native equality and recognition. The Shareholder is the new corporate voice. It's not tribal or regional, except that the corporation itself is regional. It is mostly a

The previous numbered page in
the original document was blank.

vehicle of business affiliation. Each of the thirteen regional corporations in Alaska now has its own newspaper or newsletter. The Shareholder is probably the best, and the second-best right now is probably the Alaska Native Times which is the publication of the 13th Regional Corporation which is headquartered in Seattle. It enrolls all of the Native Alaskan people who do not reside in Alaska, of which the greatest community is in the the Pacific northwest. That's why the 13th is headquartered in Seattle. Incidentally, just within this past year, the Times moved back from a monthly to a bi-monthly as part of an economic cutback.

The regional Native corporations stem from the 1971 Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act or ANCSA. The Act conveyed nearly fifty million acres of land (I think the exact total will be 43.7 million acres), to the Native people of Alaska, and almost a billion dollars in compensation for the lands lost to white settlement and occupation over the last century or more. The corporations were set up to manage the money and to oversee the gradual transfer. The Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act was the biggest such settlement in history and has met with mixed success. Some of the regional corporations are in good financial shape. Others are near bankruptcy. There are particularly hard times today, given the general national and international business slow-down and the oil glut. As a result there is a lot of retrenchment, such as the cutback in the Native Times from a monthly to a bi-monthly. In terms of the effects of the Settlement, the economic lot of the people is really not appreciably better than it was before 1971.

Some Native people have succeeded, but usually at the expense of Native cultures and Native ways. It is evident to anyone looking at or traveling in Alaska today that the acculturation of the Native people--the Eskimos, the Indians, and the Aleuts--has been extremely rapid. Assimilation into the majority culture has perhaps been, and fortunately been, slower. That is attributable to several factors: the realities of Alaska weather and distance, and the fact that the vast majority of people outside the urban and town areas are Native. The population is about one-fifth Native and four-fifths Anglo-white. For all of the problems of ANCSA, most see it as a step in the right direction, as the best possible alternative--particularly in a place like Alaska that is developing so quickly and being so energy-exploited.

The Native leader, in fact the Alaskan leader that most people point to as the single most influential individual in the passage of the 1971 ANCSA is Howard Rock. Mr. Rock, an Eskimo, founded the Tundra Times, the statewide voice of Native people, in 1962. Howard Rock was an artist turned journalist and a crusader for his Native people. In the course of his early days with the Times, Rock investigated Native land claims, took the U.S. government to task for exploiting Native people and their lands in Alaska, pushed relentlessly through the pages of the Times for a settlement and eventual passage of that Act. The Tundra Times is the only statewide Native paper and it has published consecutively since 1962. It has been continued since Howard Rock's death in 1976 under a number of Native and non-Native successors. The current editor, Linda Lord Jenkins, although she's a non-Native has brought quite a bit of dedication and professional experience to the job. In the two years since she's been there, the paper has printed some strong editorials, and a number of very good stories on the constant tug between traditionalism and modernism that is marking contemporary Native Alaska. By coincidence, I notice the main head on the issue I have here, February 10th of this year is, "Traditional and Modern Inupiat Cultures Clash on Drilling." It's a fairly long story, and is a fairly sensitive portrayal of the conflict going on now in terms of development versus preservation. The corporation letters and papers tell the corporate story, and the Native economic story. The Tundra Times is trying in 16-24 pages weekly to tell the statewide story of the Natives and of the Settlement Act.

The question quickly arises, however, who is telling the story of the Alaskan Native people to the other four-fifths of the Alaskan people, to the rest of the nation, and the world? The question was posed fairly powerfully in an editorial in the Times a couple of years ago by the last editor Tom Richards, an Eskimo from Barrow. On September 10, 1980, Richards wrote, "The biggest story in Alaska today is not oil or pipelines or all the money Alaska has. It is the Native corporations. We are blazing a a new trail, for good or bad, and Native peoples all over the world are watching and studying what happens in Alaska right now. But who is telling the story?" Most people who study what is happening in Alaska right now would say that virtually no one is telling the story. Part of my own research into Alaska Native media has included the study of what is being covered and how much Native-oriented news is being covered by the non-Native dailies in the state. I studied most of the establishment or white-owned dailies and the Native papers and contrasted their news coverage. The figures are available for what Native issues are covered in the non-Native press, and they are very low. The highest percentage of Native news in a non-Native paper is carried in a fairly unassuming publication called the All Alaska Weekly which comes from Fairbanks. Its publisher and editor have long been associated with Native concerns in Alaska, although he is a non-Native himself. His name is Tom Snap, and in fact it was he who tutored Howard Rock in 1961 and 1962 as Rock learned journalism. At that time, Snap was working for the Fairbanks Daily News Miner. He worked with Rock for a year before Rock went out on his own with the Tundra Times. Even in the All Alaska Weekly, however, the percentage of coverage of what I had defined as Native-oriented news was quite small during the period of time that I studied it, which was in 1980.

In connection with that however, I must acknowledge that the U.S. journalistic model is frequently based on reporting conflicts, controversial stories, or conflict-based news. So the absence of Native-oriented news from such a roster is in a sense complimentary. The journalist model is also based on having a news peg. Thus, developmental news and economic news, particularly when it occurs over a period of ten or fifteen years is not news in the sense of having a strong daily news peg. In fairness, I must also acknowledge that I studied the papers before the tenth anniversary of the passage of ANCSA. On the occasion of that tenth anniversary which was late 1981, there was a veritable outpouring of stories in the establishment press on the Act, on its implications and on what has happened in the intervening ten years. In fact, we checked one of the newspaper clipping services and found something on the order of thirty stories, many of them series, on the Alaska Claims Settlement Act and its effects after ten years That roster of stories does go fairly extensively through the non-Native press. I do have that list available of stories that were carried. There were even stories in the San Francisco Chronicle, and Newsweek had a token blurb on the Claim Settlement Act late last year, as well.

I may be giving myself an undeserved pat on the back, but we shared the results of my study with all the newspapers, both Native and non-Native, in Alaska. So they at least had access to the report that indicated nobody is telling the story, and it has been almost ten years. No one has really said much in news columns about what has happened with the Native people as a result of the Settlement Act. I have to admit that it probably is undeserved, but it feels good to see this coming out right after we did that. Along with studying the quantity of coverage that had been done I also attempted to study the "direction" of coverage. By "direction" I mean attitude toward Native people on the part of the journalist involved. It was a difficult project. I am not sure one can do that just by studying content, but I did draw some tentative conclusions and they're mildly interesting. The overall finding, if I can just simplify very briefly, is that both the Native and the non-Native press at that point in time, were, by and large, positive in their portrayal of Native news. I didn't compare that coverage over time to see if there is a change, although that is what I would really like to do sometime in the future. There were other limitations in it, as well. I didn't take a very large period of time, because to study it intensively like that I zeroed in on three and/or six months of coverage.

Now, I will turn, briefly, to what is happening in electronic media. Television in Alaska remains the vast wasteland and "brain candy" that it is for the rest of the country. Satellites are rapidly bringing live TV into virtually every settlement in Alaska. Situation comedies and sports are big business on television there as elsewhere. The sports coverage, especially, has changed the agenda for Native Alaskans. Tom Bush who is a broadcaster in Nome, Alaska, mentioned a year or so ago, that when he would travel outside of Nome to the villages of the Eskimos, Inupiat and Yupik people, he would typically hear comments and questions about more traditional concerns--whaling, caribou and so forth. But during the last couple of years of visiting those communities, the questions that he hears are questions directed to him as somebody from the city, such as who won the Celtics-Laker game last night. He sees the change having come about within the last five years. Several people, in fact, tell the story of villagers in one area that was on the tape shuttle circuit--that in other words, got delayed broadcasts of sports and other television programs--who chartered a plane to go to the island where they had satellite broadcasting, so that they could catch the Superbowl live rather than wait for the tape to come around to their village. Local programming, incidentally, is largely an unmet dream in Alaska as in the rest of the country. Not much has happened with television, and I suspect, that that is not a strong medium, even in the future, for Native concerns.

In terms of radio, in the northwest parts of the state particularly, there is considerable broadcasting to Natives, even if not by Native people. All the stations in the area, and there are six of them throughout the vast western and northern regions of Alaska, are either owned by religious groups, or are public broadcasting stations. They are broadcasting about ten percent of their material in Native dialects, and the rest in English. One estimate of linguistic skills that I heard recently, is that most of the Eskimo people over fifty years of age are mono-lingual in their dialect; most under fifty, are bilingual; and any people under twenty are again mono-lingual, but in this case, in English. As another indication of how quickly that change is coming about, I conducted a recent survey with Alaskan broadcasters and asked them how much, if any, Native language broadcasting they were carrying and whether that differed from what they were doing five years ago. The interesting response that we got was that virtually all of them are carrying more Native language broadcasting now than they were five years ago. I think all but one of them gave, as a primary reason for that, cultural preservation, the desire to help preserve culture through the language. So to summarize what generally is happening in radio, there is a lot of broadcasting to Natives; not too much is done by Natives, although in the case of the two or three public broadcasting stations, the majority of the governing boards are Native.

There is one recent development that does speak to the health of the Native media industry in Alaska: the Alaska Native Media Association, which was started about a year and a half ago by the two editors of the Sealaska paper, Soboleff and Gonzalas. The association has been trying to meet annually in conjunction with the Alaska Federation of Natives which usually has its convention in Anchorage. They have been trying to develop a newsletter, but their efforts have been fairly tentative so far. They have published a useful and current list of all the Native publications in the state. It's interesting to look at that list. One finds the vast majority of the publications are connected with the Native corporations.

Again, this has been a brief overview of what is happening in Native media in Alaska. Obviously, the largest concern continues to be with press media. Electronic media show some promise of doing something--particularly in radio. But as of yet, there is no Native-directed electronic media concern in the state. There is a lot of activity now just getting off the ground. And I think given all that is happening in Alaska--economically and developmentally--in terms of energy resources and in terms of the world and national exploitation of those resources, the state is as interesting a case-study of contemporary Native journalism as anywhere in the country. Like the Native people themselves, Native journalism in Alaska is beset by many problems, problems of funding, problems of adequate staffing, and how you hold staff members who can get better-paying jobs elsewhere, and language problems. Despite the problems, there is a sense of optimism there, and there is progress. The last ten years have shown a resiliency and have seen a fairly large increase in activity. One gets the sense that that will not only continue, but will also increase in the next decade or so. There's a sense of hope that I find when I talk to people there. There is a sense of life that does come through. What's going to happen in terms of development versus preservation no one knows. That the changes are traumatic is evident to anyone. But there is a legacy. There is a legacy of the Cyrus Peck's Voice of Brotherhood, and the legacy of Howard Roth and the Tundra Times. It is living on in their publications and in media generally in the state. If you have questions or comments, concerns, I'll try to deal with them. Jim.

Selected Afterthoughts

Danky: There appears to be a very different story occurring in Canada. One of the phenomena that interested me--although I did not find out about it through the Native American press, I read it through National Geographic--was about the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation, that is, the use of satellites and Inuit language television broadcasting particularly in the circle around Hudson Bay. Why are they looking towards television? Have they gotten more favorable settlement terms that they can look at something that expensive? And why is television not seen as a more immediate future in Alaska?

J. Murphy: It seems that generally, the Canadian peoples in the North, the Inuit, seem to have in many ways more advanced communication systems particularly electronic media now. In fact, along with the satellite broadcasting that brings Canadian television to the Native areas, there is a lot of local origination and software programming by Native groups. You see that happening across the circle of the Canadian North. In terms of why that is not happening in Alaska, there have been studies, and there have been proposals. There have been satellite demonstration projects to show the feasibility of television. On paper, theoretically, it looks like it would work. It is an ideal area for satellite broadcasting, in fact. It is so remote that the instantaneous contact of satellite broadcasting looks like the solution. So far, nothing has gelled. So far the projects have simply stayed in the demonstration stage. The only television that has really moved is commercial or public television of the sort that we have here, and that is available for everyone. The University of Alaska at Fairbanks, has been doing some things with programming, and they're getting that out on other satellites or with tapes. I'm not an expert in what's happening there, but the sense I get from talking with people and looking is that if there is a potential for television it certainly is unmet in terms of Native needs, in terms of programming that deals with Native concerns.

S. Murphy: Canada has had a much more intelligent film development program with the National Film Board of Canada. Even in the early 70's, for example in Thunder Bay, there was an open channel or a program similar to that, actually developing community use of television. It was a much more enlightened approach than was taken in the United States or Alaska. Perhaps that is why Canada may be ahead.

J. Murphy: There was a public policy, vis-a-vis the Native people. Canada has always been ahead of this country. The Native population of Canada is proportionately much larger than ours. Although that should not be a rationale for it. I should clarify; televison is now available in most of the Alaskan country, most of the state. By the end of this year, virtually every village will have live satellite reception. So it is fairly well covered, and telephone coverage too via satellite is fairly pervasive now. I was speaking more about community access, and local usage, Native media, or Native usage of television medium.

Audience: What was intriguing to me in Kotzebue was the use of radio. They'd be playing popular music and then cut in with messages from one community member to another.

J. Murphy: Some of the stations have actual programs set aside for those messages. One of them calls it the Tundra Telegraph, and I remember visiting in Native homes in the state, and when that program would come on, everything else stops because that was the bulletin board service of the air. You've never seen it so effective and so taken account of as it was there. This was their communication with other members of their family distant from them, who were not in any other contact except via radio. And it is the entire state outside of the southeast corner that uses that telegraph or bulletin board function of radio very effectively. It is accepted as a part of radio, part of the main function radio plays actually in terms of personal information.

La Course: I knew Howard Rock very well before his death, and Tom Richards is one of the best friends of my whole life. I would just like to mention a few things about these two people. Howard was in his mature years when he lauched the Tundra Times and he was one of the most sophisticated Indian or Native men I've ever met. He reminds me of my father, with the gentleness and strength. After the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act was signed by President Nixon in 1972, Nixon honored ten people around the United States with presidential citations. Rock was the first and only Indian editor to have received one. I think the reason Howard reminds me of my father is that Dad told me the only regularly published Indian newspaper that he appreciates every week is the Tundra Times.

During the period of this heavy, most intense political debate among Native Alaskans, Tom Richards was with the U.S. Navy Naval Intelligence Operations in Washington, D.C., and later went to Subic Bay planning the B-52 bombings of North Vietnam. He wound up in terrific private anguish as a Native person planning the deaths of Native North Vietnamese. That was how he looked at it. He was in his early 20's at the time. While he was on assignment with the Navy in Washington, he provided weekly Telex news stories to the Tundra Times with everything happening in Congress on the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. And I don't think that has ever been done before. He was a natural successor to Howard after Howard's passing, until recently when Tom was squeezed out for political reasons.

They are very sophisticated people and their history is different from Lower 48 Indians, because they've never had the protections reservations provided in what they called the Lower 48. They competed since 1860 in schools. They have a long-time political history of being elected to the state house and the state senate. They are part of the political power of the politics in Alaska in a way that is not matched in the Lower 48 except in Oklahoma.

J. Murphy: You mention the political aspect of Tom's being squeezed out. Consider this, the Tundra Times is published by the Indian Eskimo and Aleut Publishing Company. With that combination, trying to serve the whole state and the divergent, sometimes conflicting and contrasting interests of all the different Native groups in an incredibly diverse state, you can imagine the politics involved in the thing. What I find so amazing, is that it is now in its twentieth year without missing a publication.

Audience: Forgive what may be a marginal question, but being an indexer and a cataloger I am curious about words and names. I wonder why in Canada presumably the same people, that is so-called Eskimos, insist on being called by their authentic name, Inuit, and have got the government to agree so that is now standard official nomenclature. Yet presumably their brothers and sisters in Alaska, are not so called, and you have not called them that. I ask why?

J. Murphy: I don't know. The Alaska Eskimo people in fact, refer to themselves alternately as Eskimo, as Native, as Yupik, or Inupiat, if indeed that's the more particular group. And even within the last two groups, the Yupik and the Inupiat, there are some groups whose names I cannot even pronounce. There are many different dialects too, which increases the polyglot problem. But I can't answer the question of why the Native Canadians are Inuit.

Danky: In Alaska do they publish things in Inuit? Are there things published in languages other than English, because that is a very major portion of Canadian Native publications from the northern areas. One comes to mind from northern Quebec that publishes in English, French and Inuit. That's very interesting to look at, but very expensive obviously, because of the Inuit alphabet. I am not aware of any published in Alaska other than in English.

J. Murphy: At this point, everything being published is being published in English. There have been some Native language things, Agluktuk, for instance, but it just had Native headlines. I don't know.

Let's go back to your comment about the names. You notice I have been referring to Native Alaskans which is the general word that one uses. You would not say Alaskan Indians to talk about the whole group of Native people because the Aleuts are not Indians and the Eskimos are not Indians. And the sub-category then of course is among the Indians. So even the use of the term Native Alaskan which seems to be the most generally accepted has

political ramnifications and problems. Other Anglo Alaskans object to it and saying, we were born here too, so we are Native Alaskans. In fact the Alaska Native Times in Anchorage has a policy of not referring to Native Alaskans as indigenous people. They use what I tend to think, and did suggest to them was a rather degrogatory term, given the culture, given how they have developed, namely, aboriginal Alaskans and of course the reaction to my saying that to the executive editor was that it was not derogatory; that it is just a way to acknowledge the fact that all who were born there were Native Alaskans, but they are the aboriginal group. So there are political aspects even to the naming.
Thank you.

JAMES PARINS AND DANIEL F. LITTLEFIELD, JR., INTRODUCTION:

James P. Danky

Our next two speakers come to us from the University of Arkansas, Little Rock and are for me a product of the seredipity of doing research. By the barest of margins in the course of our project, we managed to get a notion that there were these other people located some distance from Madison working on a very similar project. Fortunately, they are complimentary instead of competing. James Parins is a graduate of the University of Wisconsin-Madison where he got his Ph.D. in English and has worked in computerized literary studies, particularly concordances. His field of expertise is 19th century literature. His colleague is Dan Littlefield, whose Ph.D. is from Oklahoma State. Together professors Parins and Littlefield have worked extensively in Native American materials. Their most recent book is from Scarecrow Press, and is a guide to works to 1924 constituting Native American literature. Their discovery of this material which is hidden in a wide variety of places will offer a resource that will allow all of us to learn considerably more, to put it mildly, about Native American literature of the 19th and early 20th centuries. They are presently at work on a bibliograhy on Native American newspapers, but different than ours which provides extensive bibliographic information. Their work is going much further. It will provide historical and literary accounts of those publications. They are going to talk about their work and about some of the problems that they have encountered.

The previous numbered page in the original document was blank.

NATIVE AMERICAN PRESS BIBLIOGROPHIES - REPORT OF RECENT RESEARCH

James Parins
Daniel F. Littlefield, Jr.

Parins: My purpose here today is to tell you about a project involving American Indian periodicals that Dan Littlefield and I are presently engaged in. The project will develop a historical reference guide to American Indian periodicals established and published in the United States. The guide will list and document periodicals published by or primarily in the interest of American Indian people. Each entry will contain a historical and analytical essay on the periodical, as well as complete bibliographic information. Each entry will furnish the reader with details on the publication's origins, growth, editors, publishers, major contributors, and when applicable, its significance, as well as additional relevant historical cultural background information. We have nearly completed volume one of this work, a guide to the periodicals published from 1828 through 1924. It contains around 200 entries and will be published by Greenwood Press in 1983.

The next two volumes, also to be published by Greenwood Press, will describe periodicals published from 1925 to the present. For these volumes, we will have the assistance of a large number of scholars, writers, teachers, librarians, and archivists, who will contribute side articles on the periodicals. Each of the later works will contain a significantly larger number of titles than the first volume. We are estimating now that, after we publish the first volume to 1924, the other two will include around a thousand entries and a thousand titles. Each volume will include the following sections: the preface, which discusses the purpose of the volume; its scope and contents; and the criterion for selection of the titles listed in the existing bibliographic framework. Also, we will have an introduction which will consist of an historical essay on the development of American Indian periodicals of the period. Each volume will also include periodical profiles, and a location source as directory for hard to find things (some things are scattered around in places to which we don't normally have access). We are not trying to do union list by any means, but for the things that are hard to find, we will have a directory. We'll also have a list of titles by category: school publications, tribal newsletters, organizational periodicals, designations of this nature. We will have a list arranged by tribal or agency affiliation, a list of periodicals by states, a subject index, and a list of contributors with biographical information. The main part of the works of course would be the entry, the profile of the periodical. The objective is to construct a comprehensive profile of the periodical. The entry will take narrative form and include a history of the publication, its establishment, its founders, organizations affiliated with it, its editors, and its demise if it is no longer published. The narrative will also indicate the kinds of material published, major contributors, significance of the periodical, and any relevant historical cultural background information that helps to put the periodical's founding, growth, or decline in perspective. The length of

The previous numbered page in the original document was blank

each entry will be determined by the periodical itself. Those having long duration or major shaping impact on the contemporary scene will have longer entries than periodicals of very recent vintage. The Navajo Times, for instance, will receive much more substantial treatment than a recently established tribal newsletter. The periodicals themselves will provide most of the raw materials for most entries. Some older titles, however, such as American Indian Life and Indians at Work, have received some secondary treatment because of the recognition in retrospect of their roles in helping to shape significantly the direction of Indian affairs. Press response to those periodicals with outstanding political and social impact and other sources outside the periodical will be consulted for information regarding periodicals, some editors, and affiliated organizations.

We see this work as being useful to the student of American Indian studies. We hope that it will serve as a source of information in an area largely neglected by scholars, and that it will document a continuous and sizeable body of writing and publication by Indian people, which dates back to a time when they were regarded by non-Indians as simple children or worse. We believe that this work will make a contribution to the field of American Indian studies because many of the periodicals it describes are the expression of Indian people themselves, rather than the Anglo perceptions of them that we are used to seeing in typical policy histories. Dan is going to speak to you now on some of the problems that we have encountered, and that we foresee.

Littlefield: I get the easy job, because the problems are always outstanding and always foremost in our minds as we work on this project. You probably already suspect that we got into this task through the work we did on American Indian literature. In that bibliography, we published about 4500 titles of pieces of writing written in English by American Indians from 1772 up through 1924. That was just an arbitrary cutoff date. There was no magic reason for that. We just simply stopped, because from 1924 to the present, you have such a vast amount of writing by American Indians; there are tens of thousands of pieces of writing that haven't been collected and indexed. That was such a monumental job that we didn't feel like tackling it. But in the process of working on that project, we read a number of Indian publications and decided that this work needed to be done because we came across vast amounts of information that essentially presented a different perspective on the Native American than what you are used to seeing in typical historical accounts. We thought that calling attention to the material was worth the effort. So, we set about doing it, and of course came up with some problems.

The first one of those is our definition. Jim said that we were discussing periodicals that were published by or mainly in the interest of American Indians. There are problems, however, with both "by" and "in the interest of." Some people have the idea that an Indian periodical is a periodical that presents a particular perspective. We've heard some cases in which that was true, Boudinot's paper, for instance, but we know that there are other cases, early 19th century, where Indians edited papers, sometimes major newspapers in this country, that were establishment papers. The question is, are those Indian periodicals? They were published by Indians. They had no identity crisis. They knew they were Indians, and they were publishing newspapers that essentially were not, or did not take an Indian perspective. So there is that problem. One of the best examples I can think of was Ridge Pascal, who was a nephew of John Ridge, and a cousin to Boudinot, who edited Flake's Bulletin in Galveston, Texas, in the 1860's during the Civil War. He also had a bilingual newspaper, Los Dos Laredos, which he published in the 1880's in Laredo, Texas, before he moved back to the Cherokee Nation. He then later edited the Cherokee Advocate, a national newspaper, when he returned. So, here was a man who went out into the Anglo world, competed there very successfully as a journalist, came back, took up the national organ and worked for the Cherokee Nation. And there are other prime examples in the 19th century.

Another problem, we have found, is with the phrase "written in the interest of Native Americans." What do you do with some publications that say they are published "in the interest of American Indians," but when you read them, make you wonder? I can tell you which religious sect was the worst of the lot, because it's easy to see what they're doing with these publications. Most of them were published at agencies, or on reservations. They did involve Native peoples in some part of the process of publication in many instances, and they did give a good deal of information about tribal groups and individuals. But the bias is clear. Now what does one do with those?

Another problem is getting the historical background of the people who were involved in these. Part of the problem of identifying titles has been to identify Native Americans when the names became anglicized. That created problems. If a name didn't look as if it were a Native American name, how does one decide whether this person is Native American or not? The best example I can think of here is a paper published by Henry Ashman at Odanah, the Odanah Star. If you don't know that name as an Indian name, a family name, then you might miss the Odanah Star, which was published early in this century, was a weekly, turned out on a regular basis, and ran for several years.

Identifying titles is another problem. We have what we call mirage titles. Those are titles that look to be Indian publications but turn out not to be. The one that comes to mind is called Indian Bulletin, published in New Jersey, in the early part of this century. A man had a curio shop and he put out a little monthly newletter. It did talk a little bit about Indian art now and then, but for the most part, he was selling his goods. So, I doubt seriously that it fit either one of our definitions for inclusion in the list. However, there are some that are not so obvious, for instance, Home and School, published at Riverside at Anadarco. Again, unless one knew the names of all the schools and all the possible places where a publication could have taken place, one would miss those. A title that was not obvious, but that we should have, and finally did recognize, was a title that fits another category we have. Called the Hallequah, it was published at the Wyandotte Mission in Indian territory in the 1880's. A woman philanthropist gave a printing press to a girls' school. They didn't know how to run the press; they had to learn that first. Then, they had only enough type for one form. So, after they set one page, they would break the form and reset the type. That ran for about two or three years. So there was a title that was not obvious, but once we got into it, we knew we had something that would fit. And of course, we have read all of the publications that we could get our hands on. Often, they led us to other titles we might otherwise have missed. So, some of this has been luck.

Then we have a number of titles that we know existed, because we have seen news clips from them over a period of years. But we have never seen any issues. So, one of the problems is getting access. The Reveille, for instance, was published at Grand Junction in the early 19th century. When that school closed down, they moved the press down to White River, Arizona, and it was published there. It was still called the Reveille, it just changed places. But, we have never seen copies of that. Last year, when I was a visiting professor at the University of Arizona, I went through their special collections, and they had no copies of it. So, I don't know where to go from there.

Another problem is single issue publications. For instance, Wowapi, the Magazine for Indian People went through one issue, as far as I know, The Tribesman published at Tulsa, as far as I know, had only one issue. Then, there is the Tahlequah Times where the editor put out the issue and said, "This is my first and last." And that was it. It was published in 1878. So, what does one do with something like that?

Then there is the problem that I referred to before: location of these items. There is a lack of indexing, and I'm pleased to find out that that's going on now. Occasionally, I find a few titles in the typical finding tools, in a reference room. But since there is no index, and very little scholarly work has been done on this subject, it is like a scavenger hunt in many cases. We go out and see what we can find. A lot of it is luck; a lot of it is imaginative digging. We have hit basic places pretty hard, where we thought that there should be some holdings. The best example I can give you is a closet in the basement of Bacone College Library, in Muskogee, Oklahoma. We went in that closet and did not come out for about ten days. Literally, we lived in there because it had some things that we had never seen copies of anywhere else, and were not in any finding tools. So, it turned up a lot of information. But we knew that Bacone should have some things, because it was an Indian university.

Another problem that we have had to face is a practical problem, and that is just the matter of economy. How does one get around to all these places, dig in all these archives, stay there and support oneself during one's summer vacation, while doing research? Jim and I come from a university where we have no release time for research. I teach twelve hours. I have missed four classes by being here this week, which I regret, because if you teach that much of a load, you have responsibilities. Jim teaches part time, and plays dean part time. So he has his hands full, too. Fortunately, his wife is a medieval scholar, so she understands what we are about, and my wife is a librarian, so she understands and is willing to make her vacations my research trips.

But those, as I see it, are some of the major problems we've come up with. We have a lot of expectations for this because, what it is showing, is something that I think we've already established with our bibliography. We are close to 10,000 pieces of writing by Native Americans, and that isn't including pieces that have to do with tribal business. We are talking about pieces that were written for publication in that early period. So, what we think of as a new thing (those of us who have been here this week, know that Native American journalism is not a new thing), is not something that is recent. It does go a long way back. And I think that, in itself, should give some support to young publishers who are working today. In other words, it is not as if you are fighting this battle for the first time. It's been fought again and again. There is a real history behind it, that gives moral support, if nothing else. There is background there. I hope too, that this will result in some serious scholarly work on American Indian writing because it is there, and it is just a matter of getting access to it.

Selected Afterthoughts

Danky: More of a statement rather than a question: one of the functions, particularly for those of you who are not familiar with the State Historical Society, is to collect materials about the history of the United States, with particular reference to periodical literature. As I said yesterday morning, we treat all the publications equally, and one of the results of that is those that are on newsprint or other less permanent forms of paper, get microfilmed by the State Historical Society. And while we in no sense have a comprehensive collection, (it would be great if we did), we do have one of the largest collections in the United States. But it is not just here in Madison. When the materials are available on microfilm, anybody can get them anywhere. If someone is in Washington, D.C., or if they're in London, England, they can borrow those materials from us, so access should not be a problem for the scholar anywhere.

Audience: What type of publications are there? Such as history, oral history, translated into written, children's stories, publications, poetry, a breakdown?

Littlefield: Just about anything you can imagine. Any genre that was produced by the larger dominant society was produced by the Native American in English. The only thing we were a little short on was drama.

Parins: That's typical of 19th century.

Littlefield: Drama was not a very popular form in the 19th century, and not many people in America were writing it.

Audience: In what way was it published then?

Littlefield: Many of these appeared in the Anglo press, but a lot of it came through school publications, after those things started in 1880's. Then there were writers who published by subscription. If they wanted to publish a book they would go around and take subscriptions, and if they got enough subscriptions to pay for the publication, then they would publish the book. Professor Luebke talked about Boudinot this morning. Poor Sarah, that temperance piece, went through dozens of editions, probably because it was good grist for the abolitionists' whiskey mill. Not abolitionists, prohibitionists. And there is a story in the abolitionists too, because the same kind of papers that were doing abolitionist things were picking up pro-Indian things and publishing pieces of writing by American Indians. The Eastern press is full of it, and of course, that has not been systematically indexed, so it's just a search and find kind of process you have to go through. But there is a huge body of it there, there's no question about that.

Audience: Do you have any particular age of the authors? Is there a median age?

Littlefield: Yes, most of them are young.

Parins: A lot of women, too.

Littlefield: In the bibliography for instance, we had about a thousand writers represented, and about 40 percent of those were women, American Indian women.

Danky: A curiosity question to you both. The kinds of books, and I am sure there must be dozens of them, that have a title something like An Anthology of American Literature in the 19th Century, never bother to add "white" literature in the 19th century. Have you been able to integrate some of this material let's say, if you taught a survey course?

Parins: That's how we got started. We were going to compile an anthology of American Indian writing, and then we got into the bibliography.

Littlefield: We didn't want to do one of those anthologies that there are so many of. We were going to go back and pick up 19th century American Indian writers, and use some of those.

Parins: And we just kept finding them and finding them.

Littlefield: And we found we were looking at a larger picture, and we should have been looking at something much smaller, and that is the grind of getting to the resources first. But there have been a few anthologies like the Remembered Earth, by Gary Hobson, who does pick up a little bit and makes a reference to the 19th century. But the tendency in all the scholarship I've read--they will pick out an exception like Boudinot, or somebody like John Rollin Ridge--but they will say that American Indian literature for all intents and purposes started about at the turn of the century when Simon Pokagen started writing. But that is not true. They were writing sermons for publication, they were writing hymns, they were writing poetry in the revolutionary period. It was the same kind of thing that Anglo's were writing, it was the same period, the same genre, but most of it has some Indian content. There is the sensitivity to their backgrounds.

Audience: Is there a particular time in which there was a Native American writer who had a large following or left an indelible impression upon society?

Littlefield: I think Scott Momaday has and Leslie Silko. If you want to talk about a novelist, she's probably the best American novelist today in my opinion. And I read a lot of literature. I think she and Scott Momaday are doing fine things, and they are setting trends. But there were American Indian writers in the 18th century, and I'm thinking particularly of Samson Occom. He was the one who went to England and preached those 300 sermons--he was a Presbyterian--to raise money that ultimately became the foundation for Dartmouth College. He broke with Eleazer Wheelock who was his teacher, because Wheelock used that money to educate whites instead of Indians. That was when he took that group from the east coast, and moved them out to Stockbridge, and established the Stockbridge group. It was the same time that the Brothertons were established. So he was really a pan-Indian thinker because those people were different tribal groups. They had sufficient linguistic differences that they had to give up Native languages and speak English at Brotherton.

One thing that has become more apparent to me in the last couple of days, is that American Indian writing, and journalism particularly, is reflective of a kind of factionalism that developed in those tribal groups at contact or after the pressure became greater against them. I think, for instance, of a number of those writers in the Six Nations in the early 19th century, like the Seneca writers who were responding to the whole constitutional crisis that was developing. It was the Longhouse religion against the Presbyterians. That factionalism had a tremendous impact on the direction of Seneca history. I see American Indian journalism playing a very important role in that. I think it reflects, and I don't think it caused factionalism, I think it reflects the factionalism. I think these missionary publications were basic reflections of the kind of factionalism that started. Can you imagine what happened to these tribal groups when under Grant's peace policy, they just simply divided the tribal groups up and gave them to certain religious sects? So a Catholic group, who had Catholic influence might have ended up with a Methodist. That sort of thing happened, and so you had all of this religious factionalism then.

Parins: Periodicals were then reinforcing them.

Audience: You mentioned some of your problems in definitions of terms of Indian press, and the establishment press, how do you decide some of them?

Littlefield: How did I decide some of those things? Well, some of them are still undecided. Obviously, if your going to publish a reference guide to Native American periodicals and part of your definition is periodicals published by or mainly in the interest of, I think you have to include them. If there are Native Americans producing newspapers, magazines, you have to include them.

La Course: By that definition, don't you have to include Von Daniken and Chariots of the Gods?

Littlefield: Was that a periodical? If they are Native Americans producing newspapers, magazines, you have to include them.

La Course: I would like you to name a few contemporary mirage publications.

Littlefield: A few contemporary mirages. The ones I had in mind were older ones. Where you just go by name.

La Course: Do you think there are any contemporary mirage publications?

Littlefield: Oh, I'm sure there probably are.

Audience: Aren't you even going to name one?

Littlefield: Do you know of some? I'm sure they are out there. We are working from a list of titles and some of them, in this post-1925 period I have seen. Some of them I know really exist. I know what they were because I've had to use them in the course of other research. Jim and I have done a lot of work on this. But I'm sure that there will be some, and one reason why were letting other people do some of the digging for us, is that I'm sure they will turn them up.

Danky: I can cite two examples of mirages that turned out not to exist, and one that we have resolved. Mark Trahant published the daily paper. We had heard about that but could not find anyone that had gotten it. So, wrote him a letter, he loaned us the 4 or 5 issues that were published. But the last issue said, "When we meet next year Spokane, for the next meeting we hope to do the same thing." So that was my second mirage. I wrote back and he said they did not have enough money to do it a second year, so none were published. Just yesterday, Paul was talking about a meeting in Albuquerque in June, when maybe they will try and do that again. Sometimes, I've hit tidbits like that and if they occur contemporarily enough, there is somebody to write to. We talked about this today, that you hit a volume 4, number 12; it's the only one you have. And despite the interesting way in which many editors number their publications, undoubtedly to make life interesting for librarians, you sense that there 4 years and 11 issues some place else, and trying to find those can be difficult. Sometimes you'll contact the editor--and we talked about editorial succession--one editor will say well, oh, we had a fight and the last editor took everything with him. Or, we had a fire, or we mailed out all the issues. I've talked to a couple of publications where they've mailed out all of volume 3, number 2. They forgot to keep one, and ours was lost in the mail. Sometimes there are mirages like that, where it did exist but you can't find it. The other case is where everybody was talking about doing it, or a prospectus was issued for a publication, which occurred in the 19th century particularly in newspapers, but then it was never published. But sometimes it's hard to ascertain whether it was just one issue.

Littlefield: Another related problem is changes in titles. What to me, just from a list might look like one or two titles or even three may be just one publication that changed its name, but kept its same sequence of volume numbers.

La Course: I think I misunderstood the definition of mirage publications. I thought you meant something like this: The Indian Rights Association of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, has published for a whole century quote, Indian Truth, unquote. Is it Indian?

Littlefield: Yes. That was in my definition, "primarily in the interest of."

La Course: Are the planning papers of Goering about the Jewish crematoria in Germany Jewish written history about Jews? They are relevant certainly, but it's not Jewish history.

Littlefield: No, but I meant the ones that have names that you would think, were Indian, like the Indian Bulletin, that I used as an example. It turns out that a man has a curio shop and he's just selling curios. And if you just look at the title, you can't tell anything by the title. It just doesn't help.

Audience: Would you include Ray Bradbury in a study of Native Martian literature?

Littlefield: But you see, I hope I made it plain when I started, that we had problems with this definition, by "primarily in the interests of," because what the person who published it thinks it is the interest of, it may not really be. And I think our justification for including those, was that they do say something important, I think, about the history of Native peoples in this country. They show a side of it you may not like, but it nevertheless existed.

Audience: My question is simply a question of legitimacy, scholarly legitimacy. What troubled me a bit too, and maybe you can expand on it, is the case of a Native American editor working for an establishment Anglo press. As far as I'm concerned, that doesn't make it a Native American publication any more than a Jewish person working for that same publication would make it a Jewish paper.

Littlefield: That's why I raised this issue as a problem in defining.

Audience: You won't be including Bureau publications, will you?

Littlefield: Yes. Sure, by our definition we would. But again, you could question whether or not that would be "in the interest of." That is the problem with the definition. But if you are dealing with Native American materials, you certainly cannot ignore the BIA. I think you have to look at that. You don't have to like it, you don't have to accept it. You don't even have to have any agreement whatever with the perspective.

Audience: I think you can get off the semantic hook by saying materials "by and about" rather than "in the interest of."

Danky: That's what we've used in doing our project. We went to "by and about." Richard's got some very exact and legitimate problems on that.

Littlefield: That's probably a better term. That would take care of the Indian editors, too. Would it not?

S. Murphy: Does a publication that is tribally owned cease to be really Indian if it hires a non-Indian editor?

Littlefield: That's a good question.

La Course: I agree that that is a good question. Take the Tundra Times for instance, a major paper. Presently and very unfortunately, they have some homeless white girl up there feeling comfortable taking charge. Most people up there are disturbed that there is this temporary person there. And I'm not really anti-white and I hope not anti-female, I just think she's in the wrong place. But it's part of the history of an authentic item. She is not the paper.

J. Murphy: But it is a part of the history of the paper which is an authentic item, as you say.

La Course: By the same token, I don't think that the Indian who happens to work for the Denver Post for a year and a half, or the Tucson Star makes the Tucson Star an Indian paper.

Littlefield: Oh, I agree. But I think that in the 19th century, an editor did have practically the whole process himself. Maybe I don't understand the process of journalism well enough, but I think that the editor then would have a fairly strong stamp on it. Though, in Galveston, Texas, he's obviously not publishing the news related to Native Americans.

La Course: In my own manuscript I made one exception for Will Rogers who was the first nationally syndicated essayist.

Littlefield: The more recent things could be weeded out fairly easily. But on some of these others, if you don't even have issues of them, how in the world do you know? But I again, I think these are legitimate objections.

Audience: May I ask you both a question? In putting this together, has it changed your view of Native Americans and Native American culture?

Parins: Dan's been working in the Native American area for a long time and I haven't. And I got into this basically as a bibliographer and a student of literature. Obviously, I've learned a lot. There were things that I had no idea about. It's been an education.

Littlefield: I think for me, it's added another dimension to what I thought I already knew. I think the further I go with the studies I've done in this area, the more it deepens, as well as broadens my view. You begin to see, as I said earlier, how these things reflect factionalism. I am sure that some of the kinds of publcations that you mention, Indian Truth, Council Fire, and some others encouraged factionalism. Not intending to, but they did. They fanned the flames at least. I think probably, as a scholar, the thing that really makes me want to include things like Indian Truth, whether that is the truth or not, is that says something about people's perceptions of Native Americans. It seems to me that it helps you define some of the things that you don't like. You can say that is the kind of thing that helped stereotype or helped set patterns of thought, that created turmoil, or changed history somehow.

La Course: I don't mean to talk so much, but I finally realized something that I've never seen before and that is: a publication such as Indian Truth, and a number of others around the country today are a financial drain from the potential funding of Indian publications and were also in the past. An especially disturbing incident which shows how this works is the Survival International group based in London, formed in 1975, now called the World Council of Indigenous People. They are presently headquartered in British Columbia, and they've had meetings in Panama, Brazil, up and down the Americas; they've met in Greenland, they've toured Africa, and so on. The International Survival people, who earned their doctorates at the University of London, the University of Melbourne, and so forth, do not believe that Indian people can manage their affairs on a international basis. And they compete for those dollars and attempt to guarantee that Indians cannot get money which is available in the world market, in the world economy. That is what you're making me see, that's what this scab press is. I might be wrong.

Danky: I would like to ask you a question and Richard too. Would it be possible to lay out a group of publications and have a group of American Indians knowledgeable about the press assess them. Would you all decide the same way? Would there be an unanimity of classification in some of these, including this one and excluding that one. Would there be an agreement?

La Course: I would think so.

Danky: We had a counter experience with woman's publications when we did a bibliography of those. One group wanted all nursing publications included, and another group, (both knowledgeable), didn't want the nursing publications included because the men were nurses too, and it would be wrong to characterize the nursing profession as a female profession because that would deny them future economic gains and help stereotype them. I'm not going to tell you how we decided that; you'll have to buy the book. But those caused some problems. But I listened to one side and they sounded good, and then I listened to the other side, and they sounded good. There are some of those kinds of problems in doing bibliographies. In the past, cop out or not, the self-defense is to bring the issue up in the introduction that there are indeed debates or problems and then to explain that you hope to have done consistently the following things, but at least to point out when there is a disagreement between--in many cases--white scholars and the people being described or a particular profession being described.

Littlefield: Here's one problem for instance. In the Indian territory, and especially near the end of the territorial period, newspapers proliferated, because there were a lot of things going on that needed reporting. And there were people who were Native Americans. They were enrolled members of the tribe, they were not adopted citizens. They were Indian people. Now the quantum of Native blood varied of course anywhere from full blood to a sixteenth perhaps, but they were enrolled members of the tribe. And their perspective was just as blatently boomer, land-grab, get what you can get and get out as anybody's. So what do you do with those? They are Indian editors. Would you not include those?

Audience: You can include those, but it would be a question of good and bad.

Littlefield: And here is I think where the method that we've chosen is going to be useful. I know Jim is fairly outspoken on some of the entries he's doing, and I too, have been fairly outspoken on mine, questioning whether not the goals that these editors said that they had in mind, really were attained when you look at the paper or the magazine in retrospect and see what they have done. Now that's a judgment on our part, but that's interpreting. If it is to be a guide to using these things, can you make those judgments, and get away with it? That's one of the questions we've asked.

La Course: I know what your theme song is now. Some people have theme songs. Yours is "Try to See it My Way."

RICHARD JOSEPH MORRIS, INTRDUCTION:

James P. Danky

For our final presentation for the afternoon, we are going to bring back our first speaker of yesterday, Richard Morris. Richard laid out some propositions yesterday about Native American discourse and how it has changed over the years. He examined the changes and discourse in 1890 and then between 1900 and 1950 and then since 1950. Particularly today, he is going to look at a subject that I know has long held his interest and on which he has done a lot of work. That is the incident at Wounded Knee in 1973 and the words that were spoken there. Richard.

CONTEMPORARY NATIVE AMERICAN DISCOURSE:
A CASE STUDY

Richard Joseph Morris

In today's presentation, I want to extend the thesis I put forward in my presentation yesterday. More specifically, I want to examine discourse I take to be indicative of what I have called the post-1950 Native American ethos, an ethos that, if my thesis is correct, exhibits at least nine of the twelve substantive characteristics that constitute the 1890 Native American ethos. My focus here is on discourse produced during the 1973 incident at Wounded Knee, South Dakota.

I focus on discourse produced during this incident because the new traditionals' return to traditional values and beliefs is particularly pronounced here. Perhaps more important, the 1973 confrontation at Wounded Knee is both historically and symbolically significant. Symbolically, the confrontation has acquired significance for the new traditionals because it has become--in some sense, at least--a twentieth century Native American version of the Boston "massacre," an historic occasion approaching mythic status. Even as the confrontation was occurring, its symbolic significance was unfolding. For example, Vine Deloria, Jr., wrote that "it would be on the stark plains of Wounded Knee that all the diverse elements of Indian country would finally merge in a violent and incomprehensible protest that would produce a cry of agony from every American Indian."[1] During the intervening years, the incident increasingly has come to personify the spirit and ideology of the Movement and its members--a point perhaps nowhere more evident than in the fact that the confrontation has become the focus of attention for a series of annual orations.[2] Each year subsequent to the confrontation, new traditionals have convened at various locations on "Wounded Knee Day" (February 27) to commemorate the occasion, to assess and affix blame, to redefine "good" and "evil" from the new traditionals' perspective, and to reiterate the ideology and goals of the Movement. It is in this sense that the confrontation was and continues to be symbolically significant.

Historically, two major factors make the confrontation significant. First, unlike other highly publicized situations involving new traditionals--e.g., the occupation of Alcatraz Island (November, 1969-May, 1971); the capture of the Mayflower I (November, 1970); the occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington, D.C., during the Trail of Broken Treaties (November, 1972); the violent protest in Custer, South Dakota (February 6, 1973)--the confrontation took place on traditionally sacred Native American land, and the actors who initiated the confrontation--as well as their ancestors--had long been part of the history of the location. Second, the confrontation arose as a result of conflicting values between the new traditionals and Native Americans who embrace the post-1900 Native American ethos. Indeed, from its inception, the incident at Wounded Knee was embraced by the conflict between tradition and acculturation.

The previous numbered page in the original document was blank.

Thus, I am here maintaining that, because of its symbolic and historic significance, and because of the nature of the situation, the 1973 incident at Wounded Knee provides us with an interesting opportunity to examine the re-emergence of the 1890 Native American ethos. In advancing this position, three questions will serve to guide the remainder of my presentation: How closely does the ethos exhibited by the new traditionals during the incident resemble the 1890 Native American ethos? To what extent does the resemblance of these two Native American ethoi provide us with a basis for interpreting and explaining the discourse of either or both? Finally, what are the implications of such an interpretive framework for the study of Native American discourse? In order to make the task at hand manageable, I shall restrict my discussion to six major speeches produced by new traditionals during the incident. I would maintain, however, that these six speeches quite fairly represent the general tenor and tone of new traditional discourse.[3] What remains, then, is to make explicit the conclusions and implications of this position.

Several observations are available to us en route to answering the question, how closely does the ethos exhibited by the new traditionals during the incident resemble the 1890 Native American ethos? Each of the six major speeches produced by the new traditionals during the confrontation at Wounded Knee lead us to conclude that the two ethoi are nearly identical.

Note that in five speeches the new traditionals disclose not only an awareness of having experienced widespread deprivation, but also a willingness to express their discontent. For example, after a frustrating day of unsuccessful negotiations, and compelled by what he perceived to be an urgent situation, Dennis Banks employed the notion of physical deprivation as a means of motivating the protestors to take command of the situation and "start acting like warriors."[4] In the opening remarks of his speech, Banks accused the United States Government of "stopping all the news media." He further charged that "they let in our lawyers when they wanted to. They let in a little bag of groceries when they want to. . . They're steadily trapping us into a situation that's going to be very dangerous."[5] Even though Banks' remarks here were clearly bound to the immediate situtation, his remarks near the end of the speech illustrate his interpretation of the immediate situation as simply one instance of the deprivation experienced by Native Americans more generally. There he remarked that "there have been too many Indian people that have died in back alleys, beaten to death because of promises, because of begging over a loaf of bread, or a dollar bill. We can't let that happen here."[6]

Perhaps because they were less influenced by an impending crisis, each of the other four speakers expressed more concern for cultural deprivation than for physical deprivation. In fact, both Oren Lyons and Leonard Crow Dog focused almost exclusively on cultural deprivation. Lyons indicted the Government for having deprived Native Americans of their lands, which, from his perspective, provided an explanation for "why they are so hard on us, why they don't want Indians. As soon as they terminate Indians as an entity, they terminate the obligations of the United States Government to our people."[5] Although Lyons' assertion might in some sense be interpreted as implying a concern for physical deprivation, his subsequent remark that "sovereignty is a freedom of a people to act and conduct the affairs of its own nation" clearly ties the issues of Native American lands, termination, and the Government's obligations to Native Americans to cultural, not physical deprivation. Similarly, but more explicitly, Leonard Crow Dog expressed his discontent with the cultural deprivation experienced by Native Americans by accusing "the United States of America of having tried to destroy "Indian religion."[6]

Too, although the Iroquois delegation and Wallace Black Elk expressed some concern for physical deprivation, cultural deprivation appears to have dominated their thinking. The Iroquois delegation initially focused on physical deprivation when they asked the government rhetorically, "Where is your concern for the destruction of our people? . . . When will you cease your violence against our people? Where is your concern for us? . . . What about the destruction of our properties?"[7] Near the end of their speech, however, the Iroquois delegation exhibited an even more ardent concern for cultural deprivation:

> We have not asked you to give up
> your religions and beliefs for ours.
> We have not asked you to give up
> your language for ours.
> We have not asked you to give up
> your ways of life for ours.
> We have not asked you to give up
> your government for ours.
> We have not asked that you give up
> your territories to us.
> Why can you not accord us with the
> same respect?[8]

Of all the speakers, however, none was more adamant concerning the nature, extent, and source of deprivation among Native Americans than Wallace Black Elk. Throughout his speech, Wallace Black Elk repeatedly indicted "the United States," "Christians," and "Christianity"--all of which he treated as synonomous--for having physically and culturally deprived Native Americans. In the following passage Wallace Black Elk targeted "Christianity" as the source most responsible for attempting to destroy Native American cultures.

> We were civilized. That time [i.e., before the Christians came to North America], we didn't have no roads, or hospitals, or schools, or penitentiaries, policemen and marshals and FBIs and them kind. We didn't have them and we were civilized. We were educated, and we had direct communication with the spirit. . . .
>
> [Christians] try to destroy our philosophy, totally wipe it out, exterminate all the Indians, drive all the

> Indians into the Pacific Ocean, like that. Them kind of
> attitudes are still here. . . .
> Christianity keeps dividing and dividing my people.[9]

Later in the speech, Wallace Black Elk also made it clear that he perceived "Christianity" to be responsible for the physical deprivation to which Native Americans had been subjected. Especially edifying in this connection is his assertion that "you have to slave for [these Christian people] in order so you could eat the crumbs that fall off from his high society table, the OEO program and all the little programs. We eat the crumbs, the Indians that are getting welfare and ADC, that's the little crumbs that fall off the table. These Christian people start sweeping up and they are feeding the Indians--just barely, just to keep them alive."[10]

Frustrated because they could not explain why Native Americans for so long had been physically and culturally deprived, angry because they could not understand why Native Americans and their cultures could not coexist with American culture, and hurt because they believed the "white man" had permanently relegated Native Americans to the colorless, emotionless, nearly motionless backdrop of the American consciousness, the new traditionals were prepared to strike out against anything or anyone they perceived to be threatening or potentially threatening to the way of life they had chosen for themselves. Not only did the new traditionals perceive themselves as having been physically and culturally deprived, and not only were they willing to express openly their dissatisfation and discontent, they also were willing to say and do whatever they thought necessary to preserve their cultural heritage. It is not surprising therefore that one of the primary characteristics of the new traditionals' discourse--like discourse associated with the Ghost Dance Movement--is a militant texture.

What is somewhat surprising--especially in light of some of their actions and discourse--is that the new traditionals implicitly and explicitly expoused a peaceful doctrine. In fact, of the six speakers, only Dennis Banks did not in some sense imply that the contemporary Native American Movement is based on a peaceful doctrine.[11] The Iroquois delegation implied a peaceful doctrine when they asserted that "we ask for justice, and not from the muzzle of an M-16 rifle. . . . Do not prosecute the Indians for the methods used to gain your attention, for the fault actually lies with the Government of the United States for ignoring Indians for so long."[12] Similarly, Russell Means remarked in his speech that "we learned the ways of the white man, right here in this country, found out about the white man to bring that knowledge back for the use of our people. But we still had patience, and all this time we had been watching the white man."[13] Implicit in both of these passages is the notion that the contemporary Native American Movement would adhere to its inherently peaceful principles if only the United States Government (Richard Wilson, non-traditionals, the BIA, Christians, etc.) would permit new traditionals to run their own lives.

Perhaps because his speech was intended for a specific occasion, or perhaps because he perceived the internal organization of the Movement to be in need of cohesion, Leonard Crow Dog restricted the scope of his comments regarding the implicitly peaceful doctrine of the Movement to the need for developing and extending internal unity. For example, he told the new traditionals "we're gonna be brothers and sisters. Mohawk, Chippewa, whatever you are, we're gonna be together. We're not gonna say 'I'm a different tribe,' or 'I'm a different man' or he's a white man,' or he's a black man.'"[14] Though somewhat limited in scope, Crow Dog's attempt to unify the protestors by negating the significance of tribal, social and cultural differences is indicative of a train of reasoning quite common in new traditional discourse, which implicitly demands the restoration of stability and balance to nature. The grounding for such a demand is clearly illustrated in the speeches of Wallace Black Elk and Oren Lyons.

Lyons asserted that one of the cental tenets of the Movement is the need to be "concerned for the welfare of all human beings. When we fucntion on that level and concern ourselves with the welfare of coming generations," he concluded, "we can all move in the same direction. The creator made us all brothers and we should be all of one mind."[15] Similarly, Wallace Black Elk remarked in his speech that "we have a tree of life. . . . So I believe we come from the same ground and the same roots of a tree. The white people branch out of that tree, and another branch branches into black people, another into yellow people, another into red people. We are all the same root."[16]

In essence, the new traditionals were attempting to ground the peacefulness of their doctrine in the belief that the Great Spirit intended for all things in all domains to exist in harmony--just as Wovoka had attempted to do in the "Messiah Letters." From the new traditionals' perspective, they were simply attempting to restore harmony. Consequently, they thought, nothing they had said or done as a means of restoring harmony could be conceived as inconsistent with the peacefulness of their doctrine.

All the movement lacked, they believed, was a membership of sufficient size to make the task of restoring harmony possible, which to some extent explains why mobilization has been and continues to be a concern of primary importance to new traditionals. In terms of the confrontation at Wounded Knee, the new traditionals demonstrated their concern for mobilization not only by means of the take-over itself, but also in terms of Aaron Desersa's task of notifying the wire services, the Independent Oglala Nation's request that the Six Nation Confederacy send delegates to Wounded Knee, and five of the six speeches.

Most obvious--but also most narrowly conceived--in this connection is the speech Dennis Banks delivered in an attempt to motivate the protestors to take charge of a potentially dangerous situation. Indeed, Banks' central--perhaps only--purpose was to mobilize the protestors. However, though Banks' concern for mobilization was almost exclusively bound to a specific situation, he also attempted to use mobilization in the larger context as a persuasive strategy for justifying the immediate mobilization he was seeking: "We talked it over and we realized that whatever we do here is not only going to effect the Oglala Sioux and our nation here, it's going to have far reaching effects into the Navajo Nation, the Leech Lake Chippewas, the Winnebagos, the Six Nations."[17]

Less constrained by the emotions of an immediately threatening situation, each of the other four speakers either explicitly or implicitly focused on the need to mobilize in a broader context. In discussing the inability of the United States Government to deal effectively with "the welfare of all human beings," Oren Lyons remarked that "people are now becoming aware of the [inability] and are actively doing something about it. And people really understanding their own power in the U. S. could change this thing in one night or in one day."[18] Lyons went on to say that the new traditionals "now have to remind" the Federal Government of its "obligations" to "these people."[19] To praise those who are actively seeking change, while suggesting to the new traditionals that they "remind" the Government of its obligations implies that the new traditionals must mobilize in order to effect the necessary changes.

A similar implication is to be found in Russell Means' speech. Subsequent to his discussion of how Native Americans have watched the "white man" and have learned from the experience of other minority groups--particularly the Civil Rights Movement, which he referred to as "that black cloud that Black Elk prophesied would cover this country"--Means asserted that "as a people" new traditionals finally "are beginning to see."[20] Recall Black Elk's prediction that, after his people had gone through a long period of suffering, a "black cloud" would cover the United States, and his people and the sacred hoop would again be united. The implication here, then, is that the Great Spirit had given the new traditionals a sign that the time has come to mobilize.

Both Leonard Crow Dog and Wallace Black Elk employed the same prophetic allusion in discussing the need to mobilize. During his discussion of the "power" of the Ghost Dance Leonard Crow Dog remarked that the power and momentum of the Movement is "gonna start in Wounded Knee in 1973 and it's gonna continue. . . .This hoop has to not be broken--for the whole unborn generations."[21] More explicitly, Wallace Black Elk alluded to his predecessor's vision when he remarked that "we are going through that dark cloud, and now we're emerging from that dark cloud, and the eyes and ears of the whole universe are now focused on Wounded Knee. . . .So I tell my people now, 'It's better to go home, so let's all go home."[22]

As this passage implies, the need to mobilize is intimately--almost inextricably--connected in the new traditionals' thinking and discourse to the need to return to tribal life, which is, in turn, intimately related to two other characteristics of new traditional discourse: a restoration of earthly values and a statement of hope. Except in those situations where mobilization was required for a specific, immediate purpose (e.g., the situation Dennis Banks was attempting to address in his speech), the purpose of mobilizing was to initiate a return to tribal life, thus partially restoring harmony to nature. Initiating a return to tribal life was to be the means through which a restoration of earthly values could be effected. In turn, both the return to tribal life and the belief that returning to tribal life could bring about a restoration of earthly values are statements of hope.

Thus, even though the Iroquois delegation did not mention the need to mobilize, their use of juxtaposition in discussing the conflict of values between the dominant and subordinate cultures (i.e., "We have not . . . We have not . . . ") not only implies that new traditionals prefer their own values to the values of the dominant culture, but also that, from their perspective, new traditionals have already returned to the tribal life. Consequently, in asking the Government rhetorically, "Why can you not accord us with the same respect?" the Iroquois delegation was, in effect, expressing hope that the Government would be willing and able to perceive the error of its ways and aid the new traditionals in their efforts to bring about a restoration of earthly values.

In a more limited sense, Dennis Banks was attempting to achieve the same goal. By attempting to persuade the protestors to "start acting like warriors" and take charge of the situation, Banks was expressing his hope that, by returning to tribal life, the new traditionals could begin to "dictate" their "own future," thereby clearing the way for a restoration of earthly values. With the exception of Wallace Black Elk's speech, each of the other speeches exhibit a nearly identical pattern of relationships among the need to mobilize, the restoration of earthly values, restoring harmony to the natural balance, and statements of hope concerning the accomplishment of these goals.

Wallace Black Elk's speech, however, is especially interesting in view of his perception of how these goals would be achieved. Though it is possible that Russell Means and Leonard Crow Dog--both of whom mentioned special rituals in their speeches--believed that special rituals might provide the means of bringing about a restoration of earthly values, nothing that either speaker said appears to warrant such an inference. In Wallace Black Elk's case, however, there can be no doubt that he believed special rituals would be instrumental in bringing about a restoration of earthly values. Moreover, he believed that the return to tribal life and the use of special rituals would bring about the return of the "golden age," which would be ushered in by the messiah. Note his emphasis on these characteristics in the following passage.

> Real soon, now, this is a turning point. The hoop, the sacred hoop, was broken here at Wounded Knee, and it will come back again. The stake here that represents the tree of life, the tree will bloom, it will flower again, and all the people will rejoin and come back to the sacred road, the red road. . . .
>
> This purification is coming real soon, and all the

> guns and gold will be melt. The holy spirit, the atom, the power of god, will melt those guns and tanks and poison gases [the white people] create and boil down so that they won't have no gun in their hand. They will be standing by themselves and then they'll be calling me, "Chief! Chief!" But by then it will be too late. They can't wait until the last second and say, "Gee, I'm sorry, I'll take it all back. Sure made a mistake. I killed a million people. Gee, I'm sorry. I ripped off the whole Western Hemisphere from the Indians." That won't come in the last second. When the time comes, there won't be no amnesty.
>
> We're going back to the beginning of time. It is better to go back and honor our Grandfather, honor the sacred Mother Earth. When we was there we didn't have no roads, we didn't have no Tribal Offices, no Dickie Wilsons and goon squads. Since we wandered off from the sacred alter we had a really hard time. So I tell my people now, "It's better to go home, so let's go home." The spirit is directing us and guiding us through the torments and terrorizing by the white philosophy, and we're on a hard trail. Some of us got shot on the way home, some of us got sick and tired and hang himself, some are just plain tired and sick and died on the way home.
>
> But I have no fear, I have no slightest fear whatsoever. Even if I have to face death like Chief Big Foot, it's very beautiful. Big Foot and the family, they survive--they are as much alive today as we are. They are with us and we talk to them.
>
> We hold the key to eternity, where it is beautiful and everlasting for everyone. That's where we're going. We're going home. And finally, we will be back in the Great Spirit's hands again--Grandmother's arms again. She'll cradle us in her arms again.[23]

Because Black Elk apparently perceived himself to be a candidate to become the next messiah, I am tempted to treat his speech--especially certain passages--with a certain amount of critical caution. More important, because none of the other speakers mentioned an impending golden age, the use of special rituals as instruments divinely endowed with the power to bring about the golden age, or the return of the messiah, it seems reasonable to suggest that--even though they appear in Wallace Black Elk's speech--these three elements are not particularly characteristic of new traditional discourse.

Even stripped of these elements, however, it should be clear that the new traditionals' discourse typically reflects a strong religious theme. Even Dennis Banks' speech, which was conceived in frustration and delivered in anger, exhibits this characteristic to a certain degree. Indeed, one could say with confidence that verification of each of the previous characteristics constitutes verification that new traditional discourse does typically exhibit a strong religious theme.

This said, we can conclude that new traditional discourse does indeed exhibit many of the central characteristics common to discourse produced by those who were engaged in the Ghost Dance Movement, that the 1890 Native American ethos and the contemporary Native American ethos bear a striking resemblance to one another. More specific, we can conclude from having analyzed six of the major speeches produced by new traditionals during the confrontation at Wounded Knee that five of the six speakers perceived Native Americans as having experienced widespread deprivation and were quite williing to be vocal about their dissatisfaction; that six of the speakers exhibited a militant texture in their speeches; that five of the speakers either implicitly or explicitly espoused a peaceful doctrine; that five of the speakers exhibited concern for mobilization; that six of the speakers either implicitly or explicitly called for a return to tribal life; that six of the speakers had as a central goal the restoration of earthly values; that six of the speakers made statements of hope concerning the future; that one of the speakers (i.e., Wallace Black Elk) seriously regarded special rituals as necessary instruments in bringing about the return of the golden age; that one of the speakers (i.e. Wallace Black Elk) predicted the return of the messiah; and that six of the speeches exhibited a strong religious mettle.

Discounting for the moment the characteristics exhibited in Wallace Black Elk's speech that were not exhibited in the other five speeches, we can conclude that the new traditionals' discourse typically exhibits nine of the twelve characteristics that constitute the core elements of the 1890 Native American ethos. Taking account of the three elements exhibited only in Wallace Black Elk's speech, we can infer--but only with qualified confidence--that the contemporary Native American Movement may be evolving into a messianic movement. However, at this point we simply have insufficient evidence to support such a prediction.

Nevertheless, we are in a position to answer--with a fair amount of certainty--the question, How closely does the ethos exhibited by new traditionals during the confrontation resemble discourse indicative of the 1890 Native American ethos? Partly by conscious design, partly by unconscious cooptation, the two are indeed very nearly identical. In fact, in at least one instance--i.e., Wallace Black Elk--the instantiation of the 1890 Native American ethos appears to be complete. This is not to say, however, that there are no important differences. Without question, the conspicuous absence of a messiah, the imminent return of the golden age, and the advocation of special rituals as common themes in comtemporary Native American discourse prevent such conclusions from being drawn. Still, the two ethoi are strikingly similar in some very significant respects, which leads us directly to the second question we must answer.

To what extent does the resemblance of these two Native American _ethoi_ provide us with a basis for interpreting and explaining the discourse of either or both? In general, we can say that--to the extent to which these two _ethoi_ share substantive discursive characteristics--our ability to explain and interpret the discourse of either or both is directly related to our understanding of how they are related. Moreover, such extensive similarity suggests that attempts to treat the discourse of new traditionals as substantively different from discourse indicative of the 1890 Native American ethos lack sufficient grounding--even granting the interposition of modernization between new traditionals and their ancestoral counterparts. For, treated as substantively different, the crystalization of concepts such as the out-of-body experiences, the status of sacred places, and the ability to engage in direct communication with the Great Spirit, ancestors long dead, plants, animals, and minerals--to mention but a few--are, if not incomprehensible, at the very least confusing. The close resemblance of the two _ethoi_ thus provides the means by which discourse indicative of either or both can be rendered comprehensible and choate.

Too, the striking similarity of these two _ethoi_ provides us with a basis for answering the more general question, What are the implications of such an interpretive framework for the study of Native American discourse? Simply put, to attempt to interpret and explain Native American discourse requires first coming to terms with Native American _ethoi_. Coming to terms with Native American _ethoi_ requires, in turn, coming to terms with the cosmological and metaphysical presuppositions embodied in and exhibited through the ethos in question. Only then, I would argue, is one in a position to permit Native American discourse to make sense. Surely the presumption must lie in this direction.

Further, because they are nearly identical, it would be an error induced by confusion to conclude that the 1890 and contemporary Native American _ethoi_ are simply analogously related. They are not. Nor is one a mere reflection or shadow of the other. That these two _ethoi_ differ in some respects is undeniable. Yet, because they are connected in time and space through a common culture, because both share the same conventional ideas about the attributes of metaphysical time and space, and metaphysical objects (e.g. the Great Spirit), because both share the same cosmology, their relationship is one of identity, not analogy.

Selected Afterthoughts

Morris: I realize some of the language in there was rather difficult to follow. It took me a while to learn the distinction I was making too, if that is any consolation. It is probably not. I will be happy to answer any questions or criticisms, complaints or observations--or bitches for that matter.

M. Dan: I have bitches.

Morris: Do you want to start out with something nice first?

M.Dan: You have to be there to experience it. At Wounded Knee there were approximately 90 people there at all times, but there were also base camps throughout the South Dakota area, where we had houses. We brought in materials in the evening so that we could get past the feds, Dickie Wilson and his goons. But a lot of that was in desperation. I was going to send money. My Uncle called up and he said, "I am going out there, we need some money." I said, "Sure, I will be glad to give you $250." Then he said, "we need something other than that. I'd like to know whether or not you can come because it is a time when a line is being drawn. Either your for it or against it. Either your on one side of the fence or the other. What are you?" I left my job and went out there. I protested here in Madison during the anti-war days, but I never protested here like I did when I was out there, because I was never given a gun and told that if this person comes in to shoot him. When I was out there, I wanted to get the feeling of shooting Dickie Wilson, thinking that was going to end it. I said, "You give me the gun. I will shoot the man, and you can get me out of here. But you see that hasn't been brought out. A lot of what happened that day was part of a spiritual movement, but there were a lot of people out there who we call camp followers, who could care less. They were out there just to be out there.

Morris: I should perhaps clarify something. In this particular essay, I am concerned with developing an interpretive framework for dealing with contemporary Native American discourse, primarily because it's never been done in my field in spite of the fact that my field traces its origins back to ancient Greece. I did an exhaustive study of essays that were published in my own field on Native American discourse, and I found it very disconcerting that I could count the number of pages on virtually both hands. What I am attempting to do here is perhaps less specific than what you are talking about. I am concerned with using Wounded Knee as the paradigm case for dealing with the thesis I advanced yesterday, with regard to contemporary Native American discourse. Richard was at Wounded Knee. I would be curious to hear your comments, Richard.

La Course: I have a question. What were the sources for your quotations of the speeches? Is it Akwesasne Notes' publication The Voices of Wounded Knee?

Morris: That is one of them. I dug around for anything I could get my hands on. Some things I was not supposed to have my hands on.

La Course: Is it through AP. What specifically are your sources?

Morris: One of my sources is Akwesasne. One of my sources is a gentleman I had interviewed in 1979, Cyril Griffith, who was there. I also had discussions with a number of other people. Some of them claim to be there, dubiously. As soon as it became known, generally, that I was looking for people who had been there to varify some things, all of a sudden it seemed there had been maybe 8 or 9,000 people at Wounded Knee. It was a lot larger all of a sudden than it actually was. I had to deal with some bogus claims of people who had imagined themselves as having been there. But to answer your question more directly, Akwesasne was one of my biggest sources. They were reporting on it as extensively as they could at the time. One would usually take the word of an establishment newspaper over and above that of an underground newspaper. This was an interesting experience for me, because I reversed that. Whenever there was some doubt about a quote, I always went with the Native American newspaper. That should not seem odd to you, no doubt, but to people in my profession, there is some sort of justification that is necessary for that. I went with the Native American newspapers, but I tried to cross reference among papers.

La Course: I would like to just add something to our conversation yesterday. I don't know how many people know that there were a hundred and sixty separate media organizations in the first few days of Wounded Knee including Pravda, New China News Agency, service from Japan, and so forth. There were over 40 different Indian newspapers, a few from Canada, 5 from Canada, and 35 from around the states. My sense of what happened is very much like Mike's. Nobody has ever written everything that happened there. It is damned difficult, and it might be impossible to do. You were just standing in one place, and you heard some things, and other people told you something two months later, perhaps. I wanted to make a media observation here. First about non-Indian media: Pravda was there simply to give the greatest mega-voice to the embarrassment of minority treatment in a capitalist society.

Morris: It was a good opportunity.

La Course: Tailor made. Another one would be publications like the Progressive, or the socialists who were there. They could have written their story without going.

Morris: That was true of a lot of newspapers.

La Course: The most stupid kind of stuff--making up quotes. I saw Newsweek people, female employees for Newsweek, wanting to sleep with Indians, trying to look very attractive on horseback, and not doing their story. Then within the mix of Indian journalists, during the occupation, a number of Akwesasne Notes people were interred in the tribal jail because they were presumed to be pro-militant.

Morris: Or communists or some other ...

La Course: I was worried all the time I was there. Then within the forces at the village, there was some physical expulsion of Indian writers--both men and women, who were considered to be rightist types or pro-tribal government or pro-Dick Wilson or pro-goon. There was just a tremendous human convulsion there--people just across the board, every race and American and Native American, and so forth.

Morris: I am resolutely aware of all of the complexities of the situation. Researching Wounded Knee occupied approximately a year of my time. Studying this particular incident and developing the interpretive framework that I've been using on Wounded Knee took about the same about of time. I was covering a much larger span of history as you might imagine.

La Course: I think the conclusions to your analysis here result from belonging to a discipline separate from journalism. You are giving metaphysical or mythic or mystical cosmic conclusions, and your do not even appear on the editorial pages. What you are doing is validating a portion of the action of the political spectrum of Indian people. You are sanctioning the left, saying, "Yes, it's a permanent secret eternal action," with your quotes leading right into eternity.

Morris: Actually, I am more interested in developing a framework for interpreting contemporary Native American discourse as opposed to strictly political concerns, etc. I think that the interpretive framework I talked about yesterday and used in this case study could be applied across the board. I know that's a very grandiose claim, but I've been working on a number of documents, artifacts, if you will. In fact, it was something that Professor Littlefield mentioned earlier. We don't really have a method for dealing with their literature, their discourse. And that's what I am attempting to do here--something that has not been done and in my field, something I have not run in to in any other field, anthropology or literature. So I am attempting to do something that has not been done. If I am wrong, in this though, please let me know. I can always fix it. Or maybe if I can't, I can burn it.

Audience: You stated one of your sources as Cy Griffith. Do you mean Cy Griffith, the red head? The street walker?

Morris: You confirmed that he was there. I used him primarily to verify things I was a little shaky on, not to verify quotes, but to verify dates. There were some things that just were not clear--not in Akwesasne, not in a number of other newspaper accounts. There was conflicting information in establishment papers, so I turned to Cy Griffith to verify certain dates, the sequence of certain dates, what came first. That is part of another essay that is considerably longer.

Audience: Most of us in town here know Cy, and we're unable to verify him.

Morris: I understand that.

M. Dan: The Longest Walk in D.C.--that was a rejuvenation, to show to a lot of the younger Native Americans (and also to the older Native Americans) the possibilities were there to build the new way, so to speak, or at least let them become aware of the fact that the older traditional ways were still being followed. They hadn't been thrown off to the side of the road. I felt that as being more positive--in trying to rejuvenate a spirit that had been lost--than I did at Wounded Knee. At Wounded Knee I felt an emotion.

I felt the need to be there. It was an emotional need. It wasn't so much the spiritual thing. It wasn't as heavy as it was out at Washington, D.C. There was a genuine feeling there that totally blew me away. I didn't eat for 4 days. I was just running around talking to people. It felt so good to see Native Americans from all over the United States, gathering in a place and doing their own thing.

Morris: That is one of the things that made me choose Wounded Knee as a case study, because it is historically and symbolically significant. Richard and I were discussing yesterday some of the establishment or mainstream reactions from journalists to Wounded Knee. Since he was there and had to deal with them, he is more aware of all this than I. But in doing my own research, I came across (and I try to bring this out somewhat in the essay) a notion that this was just incomprehensible--and I mean that not in a metaphysical way. It just was not comprehendable. One of the essays by Terry Schultz in Harpers, was called "Bamboozle Me Not at Wounded Knee," The title gives that one away. Michael Snead Long, a British reporter, said, "You know, I just keep expecting someone to say, 'When the moon rises over the hills and the cherry blossoms bloom,' These people aren't talking like Indians. They keep saying things like 'I will meet you in the DMZ. We are going to have a conflab about this tonight, and we'll discuss strategies for dealing with proliferation." He just could not comprehend why these people were not talking like Indians. One of the things that I am maintaining here is that they were; they were talking like Indians. The substantive characteristics are still present in contemporary in Native American discourse. If they do not talk like the translators who translated the speeches of Chief Seattle, or the translators who translated the speeches of any number of other great American Indian orators of centuries past, it is because they don't need translators any more. They are not having literary critics interpret for them, and they are talking like Indians.

It was a very significant incident. That is something that a lot of the establishment reporters did not appreciate. They did not understand. It was just incomprehensible to them why, as they put it, a group of angry urban drunkards and drug addicts would want to take over a no-name town on a no-name reservation, out in the middle of nowhere. Why would they want to do that. It was just absolutely incomprehensible. Most of them were just complaining because they had to do without this, and they had to do without that. You know, there were not many bars right there in Wounded Knee when the takeover was occurring. There wasn't any place for them to hang out and flirt with the other reporters. I am not saying that that's the journalistic integrity of all journalists, by any means. But certainly that was a big part of what went on in Wounded Knee, because the whole thing to a lot of journalists there was just a hoax. It was as Shultz put it, bamboozling. Thank you.

Endnotes

[1] Vine Deloria, Jr., God is Red (New York: Dell Pub. Co. Inc., 1975). p. 38.

[2] For example, Leonard Crow Dog, spiritual leader of the American Indian Movement, remarked in his Wounded Knee Day oration on February 27, 1979, at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin in Madison, Wisconsin, that the 1973 confrontation would "forever be part of the spirit of the [Native American] people." Cyril Griffin-Crow Dog--a Brule Sioux who participated in the confrontation and who delivered the 1980 Wounded Knee Day oration in Madison, Wisconsin--called the confrontation a "landmark" comparable to the 1916 IRA rebellion.

[3] The speeches to which I shall be referring here are: the speech delivered on March 19 by the delegates from the Six Nation Confederacy, as quoted in Voices From Wounded Knee, 1973 (Rooseveltown, New York: Akwesasne Notes, 1979), pp. 94-95; the speech delivered by Chief Oren Lyons on March 20, as quoted in Voices, pp. 96-97; the speech delivered by Leonard Crow Dog on March 21, as quoted in Voices, pp. 88-89; the speech delivered by Russell Means on March 22, as quoted in Voices, pp. 89-90; the speech delivered by Dennis Banks on March 22, as quoted in Voices, pp. 116-117; and the speech delivered by Wallace Black Elk in late March (exact date unknown), as quoted in Voices, pp. 104-110.

[4] Dennis Banks, as quoted in Voices, p. 117.

[5] Ibid., p. 116 (italics in original).

[6] Ibid, p. 117.

[7] Oren Lyons, as quoted in Voices, p. 96.

[8] Leonard Crow Dog, as quoted in Voices, p. 89.

[9] Iroquois delegation, as quoted in Voices, p. 94.

[10] Ibid., p. 95.

[11] Wallace Black Elk, as quoted in Voices, p. 104.

[12] Ibid.

[13] However, in an interview Banks explicitly characterized the American Indian Movement as an organization based on peaceful principles: "I'm not saying that we are all completely selfless or any kind of saints. But we try, with the spiritual direction of our holy men, to get ourselves to the point where we don't have the avarice and greed that is so much a part of Anglo--of white--society in the United States. We believe that the power of this universe is held within our peacepipe. It is a pipe of peace that at all costs tries to guide us in avoiding any deaths by our own hands, any violence on the part of the American Indian Movement. And if anyone will check back into the history of the American Indian Movement, though we take a very strong stand for our people, we've never killed anyone. We have never had violence unless violence was perpetrated upon us first." Voices, p. 62.

[14] Iroquois delegation, as quoted in Voices, p. 95.

[15] Means as quoted in Voices, p. 89-90.

[16] Crow Dog, as quoted in Voices, p. 88 (my punctuation).

[17] Lyons, as quoted in Voices, p. 97

[18] Black Elk, as quoted in Voices, p. 110.

[19] Banks, as quoted in Voices, p. 117.

[20] Lyons, as quoted in Voices, p. 97.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Means, as quoted in Voices, p. 90.

[23] Crow Dog, as quoted in Voices, p. 88.

[24] Black Elk, as quoted in Voices, p. 110.

[25] Ibid., pp. 109-110.

APPENDIX A

MANATABA MESSENGER
Colorado Indian River Tribes
P. O. Box 810
Parker, AZ 85344

Aug. 13, 1980

Atty. Fran Ayers
Assistant Solicitor-Indian Jursidiction
Solicitor's Office
Interior Department
Room 6453
18th & C Sts. NW
Washington, DC 20240

SUBJECT: Definition of Freedom of the Press in Indian Country

Dear Ms. Ayers:

As Managing Editor of a tribally funded weekly newspaper published on trust lands of the Colorado River Reservation of Arizona, I am writing to you wwith several inquiries. These inquiries are being directed to your office in the spirit of the June 12, 1980 memorandum from the office of the Assistant Secretary-Indian Affairs entitled "Interior Department/Bureau of Indian Affairs Policy Regarding Relationship with Tribal Governments."

That memorandum states on Page 2: ". . .(R)ecognizing the additional support for the concept of self-government that the Indian Civil Rights Act provides for tribes, the Bureau will actively work to help tribal governments develop forums which will enable them to deal fairly on issues relating to this Act." Among various types of assistance stipulated was "through the Solicitor's Office, provision of legal interpretations on civil rights matters when requested."

The 1968 Indian Civil Rights Act states: "No Indian tribe in exercising powers of self government shall make or enforce any law prohibiting the free exercize of religion, or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition for a redress of grievances; . . ."

On May 29, 1975, former Indian Commissioner Morris Thompson approved a newly revised constitution and by-laws for the Colorado River Indian Tribes in which Article III, entitled "Rights of Members," which also contained language concerning freedom of the press. The 1975 Constitution in Article III states: "All rights secured to the citizens of the United States of America by the Federal or State Constitutions shall not be impaired or abridged by this constitution and by-laws. These rights include freedom of religion, speech, the press, assembly and petition. . . ."

The following inquiries are based on my experiences as an Indian journalist and managing editor over the past ten years and do not arise from the environment of the Colorado River Reservation. But I feel a sound legal interpretation and sound legal guidance should be extended to Indian journalists and editors working on trust lands in the following matters:

1. Does freedom of the press apply to all practicing journalists of all races working on reservation lands, or does that freedom extend only to members of a given tribe on one's own reservation?

SITUATION; A number of tribes and tribal councils have excluded nearby off-reservation news people from governmental meetings and activities. Occasionally news staff consisting of enrolled members of the same tribe have been excluded from similar sessions.

On the Colorado River Reservation, the 1975 Constitution states in Article IV, Section 10 (Meetings): "All regular meetings and special meetings of the tribal council shall be open to members of the tribes; non-members may attend meetings with permission of the tribal council. Visitors may speak only with the consent of the chairman."

2. Is any enrolled Indian male or female journalist guaranteed access to news gathering on all trust lands or only within one's own reservation?

SITUATION: During the 1973 Wounded Knee occupation on South Dakota's Pine Ridge Reservation, over 40 Indian journalists were present to cover the story. At least one member of that tribal council claimed that only enrolled members could cover the story as journalists, and other Indian journalists presupposed to be biased in favor of the Indian militants were placed in the tribal jail. A few other Indian journalists were thrown out of Wounded Knee by the militants because they were judged to be tilting toward the position of the tribal council.

3. Are there limitations on the right of free press on reservations such as executive privilege for executive sessions, attorney-client relationship, and tribal "national security" issues?

SITUATION: Some tribal newspapers are not permitted access to proceedings of the tribal government, but rather are delivered edited minutes of tribal council sessions. Sometimes news staffs are asked to leave while certain matters--including financial matters--are being weighed.

4. Do press freedoms to cover the public affairs of a tribe extend to coverage and reportage on the tribal court system and tribal police force?

SITUATION: Some tribal newspapers routinely print prepared police reports. A few cover tribal court proceedings. But by and large, tribal courts escape the attention of Indian journalists. Are issues of justice and the administration of justice within the proper purview of Indian journalists?

5. Is the tribal court the correct judicial forum for trying Indian freedom of the press issues such as supression of information, prior restraint, censorship and political firings of tribal newspaper employees, as well as charges against the paper in the matters of libel and slander?

SITUATION: My research thus far, with assistance from the National Indian Court Judges' Assn., has located only one press case in a tribal court. In the early 1970s then-Tribal President Richard Wilson at Pine Ridge, SD sued Crazy Horse News Editor Aaron De Sersa for libel. The Chief Judge, Hobart Keith, ruled in favor of the President and fined the editor $1.00. I have located no cases yet in which a suit on freedom of the press issues was launched by a reservation newspaper editor--perhaps indicating a sense of lack of possibility.

6. Does the whole organic body of developed American press law apply to Indian jounalists working on trust lands since the 1968 Indian Civil Rights Act, or do tribal courts rule independently of that corpus of public law?

SITUATION: Numerous tribal codes contain provisions for penalties for libel and slander, and some tribal constitutions contain provisions for freedom of the press on reservation lands.

7. Are only privately owned and financed tribal media--and not tribally financed media--those which can enjoy full freedom of the press under the 1968 Indian Civil Rights Act?

SITUATION: In discussions at meetings with numerous Indian newspeople, I have heard the thought expressed frequently that tribal ownership of media means, on the bottom line, tribal control of contents. There is, as a result, a certain real degree of self-censorship in contents exercised by some tribal new staffs.

*

Thank you for your consideration of these matters. I will see that your response is circulated widely among Indian journalists. You may recall that I first met you in 1971 when you were with the Indian Task Force at Interior and I was news director of the American Indian Press Assn.

Respectfully,
Richard V. La Course
Managing Editor

cc: Northwest Indian News Assn.
Southern Plains Indian Media Assn.

Native American/Philanthropic News Service
Native American Public Broadcasting Consortium
American Intertribal Radio Society
BIA Public Information Office
MIGIZI Communications

APPENDIX B

PROPOSED FREEDOM OF INFORMATION POLICY

I. Freedom of the Press on Indian Reservations

"Freedom of the press" on Indian trust lands, according to experts in the field of Indian law, did not apply in Indian country from the founding of the American Republic until 1968, with the passage of the Indian Civil Rights Act. But it has applied across Indian country with all its guarantees and protections since the passage of that act.

The Indian Civil Rights Act of 1968 extended certain constitutional rights of the U. S. Constitution to Indian people under tribal governments, including the guarantee of freedom of the press. That act declared in part:

"No Indian tribe in exercising powers of self-government shall make of enforce any law prohibiting the free exercise of religion, or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition for a redress of grievances; . . . ."

And on May 29, 1975, Indian Commissioner Morris Thompson approved the revised Constitution and By-laws of the Colorado River Indian Tribes. That Constitution states in part:

"All rights secured to the citizens of the United States of America by the Federal or State Constitutions shall not be impaired or abridged by this constitution and by-laws. These rights include freedom of religion, speech, the press, assembly and petition. . . ." (Art. III, Sec. 3--Bill of Rights).

In addition, the Colorado River Constitution of 1975 mandates open meetings and access to council enactments as follows: "All regular meetings and special meetings of the tribal council shall be open to members of the tribes; non-members may attend meetings with permission of the tribal council. Visitors may speak only with the consent of the chairman" (Art. IV, Sec. 9), and: "All resolutions and ordinances of the tribal council shall be posted within fifteen (15) days after passage, for a period of thirty (30) days, at the Tribal Administration Center for the information of the members of the tribes."

Freedom of the press is one of the basic operating principles of self-government. The Declaration of Independence states that governments "derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." The citizens of a democratic tribal society must be informed and know what their tribal government is doing so they may decide what their government shall do in the future. This is the "right to know." The First Amendment to the U. S. Constitution, applied by the Indian Civil Rights Act in 1968 to Indian reservations, guarantees not only the right of citizens to express ideas and information, but also to receive ideas and information.

Tribal members thus have a right to know the state of their own tribe's government and its activities, its services, programs, operations and enterprises, its judicical and law enforcement systems, and its resources and assets. This information is essential to the tribal member in order that the tribal member can participate in th process of consent and consensus. As the Colorado River Constitution again states: "All political power of the tribes is inherent in the members. This constitution and by-laws is the expression of the will of the members and enumeration of rights and privileges herein shall not be construed to impair or deny others retained by the members." (Art. III, Sec. 1).

The press on the reservation, in order to serve its natural constituency, the tribal members, must be free from censorship, interference with information-gathering and "prior restraint"--the illegal prohibition from gathering and publishing information in the public forum of public tribal affairs. Nor does the collective tribal ownership of printing facilities bestow upon elected officials the right to control or determine the information output of those facilities. As the U. S. Supreme Court said of freedom of the press in 1971: "The media exist not to serve the governors, but the governed."

The "press" includes all means of communicating to the public news, opinions, sensibilities and beliefs, whether by newspapers, magazines or books, radio broadcasting, television or films.

Press responsibilities under the Colorado River Law and Order Code and under American press law applicable after the passage of the Indian Civil Rights Act of 1968 are the other side of the coin of a free press. Applicable press prohibitions include the avoidance of libel, slander, obscenity, sedition and incitement to riot. These offenses are proper and just cause for legal actions against tribal media in the forum of the tribal court.

Tribal newspapers, meanwhile, have no rights and claim no rights not guaranteed to all tribal citizens. The freedom of the press is not a special privelege of the tribal newspaper but the right of all tribal citizens. And the right to a free press is both a collective and an individual tribal right under law.

II. Applications of Freedom of the Press at Colorado River

The stipulation of open meetings in the Colorado River Constitution of 1975 is the primary avenue through which information flows freely to the tribal membership. The scope of these open meetings extends to:

A. Regular and special meetings of the Tribal Council;
B. Regular and special meetings of Tribal Council Committees;
C. Regular meetings of boards, authorities, joint ventures and other subunits of the tribal administrative government;
D. Regular meetings between Tribal and Town Councils;
E. Proceedings of the Tribal Court because the Indian Civil Rights Act guarantees to individual tribal members "the right to a speedy and public trial;"
F. Meetings, seminars, workshops, conferences and other gatherings of persons not members of CRIT when those persons meet on the Colorado River Reservation, unless media are publically excluded beforehand.

Executive privilege: The Tribal Council practice of executive privilege is not contained within the Constitution but instead has grown as a recognized tradition of operation. Notwithstanding the constitutional provision for "open meetings," elected tribal officials by virtue of their office have the authority to conduct closed executive sessions requiring the exclusion of all others for the conduct of business by consent of the officers.

III. Exemptions to Free Press at Colorado River

The following eight exemptions from disclosure of information are modelled on exemptions to the Freedom of Information Act of 1965, as amended. By reason of the sovereignty of Indian tribes, the nature of trust information, and the right to privacy of individual tribal members, the following eight exemptions to disclosure of tribal information shall include:

A. Tribal Religiously Related Information: Where the traditional religions of the four tribes on the Colorado River Reservation discourage or prohibit public disclosure of customs, beliefs, religious mysteries or practices of those religions, publishing information concerning these matters--and sometimes photographing them--is prohibited. Guidance will be sought from tribal elders consistantly and continuously in these matters.

B. Tribal Enrollment Information: Private and personal information of tribal individuals regarding tribal bloodline and parentage will not be released by the Tribal Enrollment Office to media in order to guarantee the individual tribal member's right to privacy.

C. Officially 'Classified' Information: The Colorado River Tribal Council uses the beginnings of a security classification system for some of its documents including that of "not for public circulation" and "confidential." Those documents so classified by the authority of the Tribal Council are automatically withheld from public discourse.

D. Personnel Files and Medical Records: Information files of employees of the Colorado River tribal government may not be released to the media without consent of the person affected, either by the Tribal Personnel Office or individual tribal departments and offices which retain such personnel files, in order to protect the privacy of individuals. Medical Dept. of Indian Health Service are likewise held to the protections of individual privacy.

E. Trade Secrets, Commercial and Financial Information: In its activities, a tribe undertakes conduct as a business corporation as well as a tribal government. Exempted from public disclosure are leases, contracts and agreements negotiated between the Colorado River Tribal Council and other parties, whether these parties be Indian or non-Indian, individuals or groups such as firms, companies and businesses, as part of the confidentiality of business transactions conducted by a tribe as a corporate business entity. Exceptions to this rule may be made by the Tribal Council in the interest of public understanding. Financial information includes terms of leases, trust land and royalty or rental payments from leasing of trust lands, for both the tribal governing body and individual tribal members.

F. Investigatory Law Enforcement Records: Records of such material may not be released publicly if release of such records would (1) interfere with law enforcement, (2) deprive a person of fair trial, (3) constitute an unwarranted invasion of personal privacy, (4) disclose identity of a confidential source and/or confidential information furnished only by such a source, (5) disclose investigative techniques, or (6) endanger life or safety of law enforcement personnel. The exempted investigative records may emanate from tribal of Bureau of Indian Affairs police files or from investigations conducted by the Tribal Council itself, or by parties contracted by the tribal government to conduct such investigations.

G. Attorney-Tribal Client Relationship: Media are prohibited from reporting contents of discussions between tribal attorneys and the tribes they represent when discussions bear directly on strategies, information and options of planned or ongoing litigation in behalf of that tribe in order not to disclose such to legal opponents of tribes prior to or during litigation. When these matters are made public in the open forum of the court, however, they may legitimately be reported by reservation media.

H. Loans to Tribal Members: By reason of the confidentiality of business transactions to which the individual tribal member is entitled, reservation media may not report applications for loans of any nature submitted by individual tribal members to the Tribal Council of the Tribal Credit Program in order to protect that confidentiality.

IV. Forum for Appeals

The freedom of the press is both a collective and individual civil right. Following the handing down of the Martinez decision by the U. S. Supreme Court in 1978, the proper forum for the hearing of alleged civil rights violations, including violation of the right to a free press, and charges of censorship, prior restraint, constraint of information is that of the Tribal Court and its Appellate Courts.

The only instance in which freedom of the press cases may initially be tried outside the forum of the Tribal court is that in which an Indian media person has been detained in a jail facility as part of infringement on press freedom. In this case, through writ of habeas corpus, it is automatically taken to the nearest federal district court, according to experts on the Indian Civil Rights Act of 1968.

Where prior restraint cases concerning freedom of the press, press law and matters of libel, slander, defamation of character and the like have not been argued before the Tribal Court, The Tribal Court utilizes the body of American press law as a guide for information and reasonableness in the case, as do prosecuting and defence attorneys arguing before the Tribal Court.

APPENDIX C

April 5, 1982

Honorable James Watt
Secretary, Department of the Interior
18th and C Streets, N.W.
Room 6141
Washington, D.C. 20240

Dear Secretary Watt:

I wrote a letter to you dated March 9, 1982, about some work the National Resources Subcommittee of the Republican Study Committee is doing regarding American Indian Affairs. I confess that the letter was not well thought out and the questions not well framed; therefore, I am withdrawing the letter and a response from the Department will not be required. However, I would like to have an opportunity to visit with your staff experts on Indian Affairs so that I might be better informed. In the very near future I will have a series of specific questions for the Department that will aid myself and our subcommittee in our work on American Indian Affairs.

It is my sincere desire that this country's first Americans be treated fairly and that they truly become self determining; it is to this end that I pursue this matter.

Sincerely,
James V. Hansen
Member of Congress

The previous numbered page in the original document was blank.

CONFERENCE SPEAKERS

PAUL DEMAIN is the editor of The Lac Courte Oreilles Journal in Hayward, Wisconsin and the founder of the Great Lakes Indian News Bureau.

JAMES P. DANKY is the Newspapers and Periodicals Librarian at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin and Project Director, Native Americans: Library Resources in Wisconsin. Under the grant from the Library Services and Construction Act, Danky has directed this conference and the compilation of an international union list of Native American newspapers and periodicals as well as a name index to Wisconsin Native American periodicals and newspapers from 1897 to 1981.

LAURIE A. FISH is the Editor of Menominee Tribal News in Keshena, Wisconsin.

ZOAR FULWILDER is the Editor of Zoar's Weekly Information which he publishes in Milwaukee, Wisconsin with the aid of his mother, Sandee. Zoar has been publishing his periodical since 1980, when he was six years old.

MAUREEN E. HADY is Project Librarian, Native Americans: Library Resources in Wisconsin at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Hady, the author of several published bibliographies, was responsible for the main editing of the conference proceedings in addition to compiling Native American Periodicals and Newspapers, 1828-1982 which Greenwood Press will publish in 1983.

RICHARD V. LA COURSE is the Editor of CERT Report published in Washington, DC by the Council of Energy Resource Tribes. Richard has edited several Native American newspapers including Manataba Messenger in addition to publishing the only review of Native American journalism, Red Currents. La Course has also been at work for many years on a history of Native American journalism.

DANIEL F. LITTLEFIELD, JR. is a professor in the Department of English at the University of Arkansas at Little Rock. Dan has published extensively on Native American topics and is presently at work on a multi-volume history of the Native American press in the United States with his colleague James Parins.

BARBARA F LUEBKE teaches in the School of Journalism at the University of Missouri where she completed her dissertation on Elias Boudinot.

The previous numbered page in the original document was blank

RICHARD MORRIS is a graduate student in the Communication Arts Department at the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

JAMES MURPHY is an Assistant Professor in the School of Journalism at Southern Illinois University and Carbondale and co-author, with Sharon Murphy, of Let My People Know: American Indian Journalism, 1828-1978 (University of Oklahoma Press, 1981). Jim's present research is focused on native communications in Alaska.

SHARON MURPHY is an Associate Professor in the School of Journalism at Southern Illinois University at Carbondale and co-author, with James Murphy, of Let My People Know, American Indian Journalism, 1828-1978 (University of Oklahoma Press, 1981). Minority women journalists are Sharon's current research interest.

JAMES W. PARINS teaches and administers in the Department of English at the University of Arkansas at Little Rock. Among his many research interests are Native American authors and the history of Native American periodicals and newspapers. He is collaborating with Dan Littlefield on a multi-volume work on the latter topic to be published in 1983 by Greenwood Press.

ANTONY STATLEY is the Editor of The Circle published by the Minneapolis American Indian Center.

JOAN WILLOW is the Editor of Wind River Journal published in Fort Washakie, Wyoming.

REGISTERED CONFEREES

Gail Brown
Milwaukee Public Library
814 West Wisconsin
Milwaukee, WI 53233

Michael Chapman, Exec. Dir.
United Council
8 W. Mifflin St., Suite 203
Madison, WI 53703

Loren J. Close
Dept. of Health and Social Services
Rt. #5, Box 1341
Cedar Lane
Rhinelander, WI 53706

Dorothy Davids
Muh-he-con-neew, Inc.
610 Langdon St. Rm 530
Madison, WI 53706

Emmett Davis
Hennepin County Library
1370 Wellesley Ave.
St. Paul, MN 55105

Michael Day
Neesh-la Indian Development Corp.
P. O. Box 560
Wisconsin Dells, WI 53965

Frances de Usabel
Division for Library Services
14 Pin Oak Trail
Madison, WI 53717

Ann Filemyr
U. W. Milwuakee
Bolton G40
Native American Studies Program

Laurie Fish
Menominee Tribal News
Keshena, WI 54135

Millicent C. Freed
115 N. Spooner St.
Madison, WI 53705

Reid R. Harrsch
Reference and Loan Library
2109 S. Stoughton Road
Madison, WI 53705

Rhonda Headley
Wind River Journal
Fort Washakie, WY

Guy Keshena
UW-Madison School of Education
128 Teacher Education Building
225 N. Mills St.
Madison, WI 52706

Michele LaRock
Nicolet College & Technical Institute
P. O. Box 518
Rhinelander, WI 54501

Cathy Loeb
U. W. System
728 State St.
Madison, WI 53706

Sandy Martin
U. W. Milwaukee
Holton Hall G-48
Milwaukee, WI 53201

Bea Medicine
U. W. Madison
10 N. Broom St.
Madison, WI 53703

Russell S. Nelson
U. W.-Stevens Point
Department of History
Stevens Point, WI 54481

Mary A. Pember
U. W. Madison
1229 E. Wilson St. #2
Madison, WI 53703

Roger R. Philbrick
Dept. of Public Instruction
P.O. Box 7841, 125 S. Webster St.
Madison, WI 53707

Emanuel N. Poler
Sakagon Chippewa Archives Project
Rt. 1, Box 642f
Crandon, WI 54520

Madeline Quigley
Helen C. White College Library
600 N. Park St.
Madison, WI 53706

Manuel Salas
Milwaukee Public Library
814 W. Wisconsin Ave.
Milwaukee, WI 53233

Harry J. Steindorf
Wis. Winnebago Business Committee
315 W. Gorham St.
Madison, WI 53703

Roxanne Talmadge
Community Action Council
P.O. Box 448
Wisconsin Dells, WI 53965

Mark Thiel
Marquette University
Archives - Memorial Library
Milwaukee, WI 53233

Madeline Uraneck
WHA Radio
821 University Ave. PRESS
Madison, WI 53706

Ann Waidelich
Madison Public Library
2150 Lakeland Ave.
Madison, WI 53704

Joan Willow
Wind River Journal
Fort Washakie, WY

LIBRARY SCHOOL of the UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

Publications

Margaret E. Monroe, ed., Reading guidance and Bibliotherapy in Public, Hospital and Institution Libraries; A Selection of Papers Presented at a Series of Adult Services Institutes, 1965-1968.
($3.00 + 4th class postage at 1 lb)

William L. Williamson, ed., Assistance to Libraries in Developing Nations: Papers on Comparative Studies; Proceedings of A Conference Held at the Wisconsin Center, Madison Wisconsin, May 14, 1971.
($3.00 + 4th class postage at 1 lb.)

William L. Williamson, ed., A Search for New Insights in Librarianship: A Day of Comparative Studies; Proceedings of a Conference Held in the Library School Commons, Helen C. White Hall, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, April 25, 1975.
($4.00 + 4th class postage at 1 lb.)

Mary L. Woodworth, ed., The Young Adult and Intellectual Freedom; Proceedings of an Institute Held June 14-18, 1976, at the University of Wisconsin. ($4.00 + 4th class postage at 1.5 lbs.)

James P. Danky, Jack A. Clarke, Sarah Z. Aslakson, ed., Book Publishing in Wisconsin: Proceedings of the Conference on Book Publishing in Wisconsin, May 6, 1977; Including a Directory of Wisconsin Book Publishers. ($4.00 + 4th class postage at 1 lb.)

Margaret E. Monroe, ed., Seminar on Bibliotherapy; Proceedings of Sessions, June 21-23, 1978, in Madison, Wisconsin; sponsored by the Library School and the Faye McBeath Institute on Aging and Adult Life, University of Wisconsin-Madison. ($5.00 + 4th class postage at 1.5 lbs.)

James P. Danky, Jack A. Clarke, Sarah Z. Aslakson, Barbara J. Arnold, ed., Periodical Publishing in Wisconsin: Proceedings of the Conference on Periodical Publishing in Wisconsin, May 11-12, 1978.
($6.50 + 4th class postage at 1.5 lbs.)

John J. Boll, Ed., Reader Services in Libraries: A Day in Honor of Margaret E. Monroe. The 1981 Alumni Day of the Library School, University of Wisconsin-Madison, May 1, 1981. Includes the Second Muriel L. Fuller Memorial Lecture by Margaret E. Monroe.
($6.50 + 4th class postage at 1.5 lbs.)

James P. Danky, Maureen E. Hady, Richard J. Morris, ed., Native American Press in Wisconsin and the Nation: Proceedings of the Conference on Native American Press in Wisconsin and the Nation, April 22-23, 1982.
($6.50 + 4th class postage at 1.5 lbs.)

ORDER FROM: Publications Committee
Library School of the
University of Wisconsin
600 N. Park Street
Madison, Wisconsin 53706

(PAYMENT MUST ACCOMPANY ORDER)

ISBN 0-936442-09-5